Quit India Movement in Orissa

Bijay Chandra Rath

QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT IN ORISSA

Bijay Chandra Rath

Arya Prakashan
Link Road, Cuttack

Quit India Movement in Orissa

Written by :
Dr. Bijay Chandra Rath
Reader in History
J.K.B.K. College,
Cuttack.

Published by :
Arya Prakashan
Link Road,
Cuttack - 753 012

Printed at :
Sri Jagannath Laminator & Offset Printer
Jagannath Lane,
Badambadi, Cuttack-12.

ISBN-81-7412-032-7

1st Edition :
1994

Price :
Rs. 150/-

FOREWORD

With the passing of the famous '*Quit India Resolution*' on 8 August, 1942, India's struggle for freedom entered into a new phase. Gandhiji declared: "*I am not going to be satisfied with anything short of complete freedom... Here is a 'mantra', a short one, that I give you. You may imprint it on your hearts and let every breath of yours give expression to it. The 'mantra' is "Do or Die" We shall either free India or die in the attempt; we shall not live to see the perpetuation of our slavery.....*

On 9 August, 1942, Gandhiji and other Congress leaders were arrested. The Congress organisation was declared illegal. Everywhere in the country people responded to the call of Gandhiji. The movement had had a deep impact on the people of Orissa. A notable feature of the movement was the spontaneous participation and total involvement of the masses. During this period, Orissa witnessed a series of gory incidents erupting at various places in the province and the Princely States. Most alarming was the massacre at Eram in Balasore district where so many precious lives were sacrificed.

Dr Rath's work deals with this important phase of Indian history with Orissa as a focal field of insurrection. Orissa's contribution to this mass movement was indeed historic and unfortunately less known. I would rather congratulate the author for his scholarly investigation into the prideful epoch of Orissa's role in the struggle for freedom which, I am sure, would lit up our saga of heroic sacrifice for the benefit of researchers, nationalists and the oncoming youth.

Utkal University
Bhubaneswar-751004

(*K.S. BEHERA*)
Professor of History

PREFACE

The response of Orissa to the nationalist challenge during the course of the freedom struggle was gallant. The popular participation which started from the Gandhian *Non-Cooperation movement* gradually went on increasing and marked its culmination in 1942. The present work is an humble attempt to describe succinctly the nature and effects of the mass involvement in Orissa at the time of the *Quit-India movement*. It is a saga of bravery and dedication on the part of the freedom-loving people of the region. This monograph is prepared on the occasion of the golden jubilee celebration of the great historic revolution with a view to enlightening the general readers about the role that the people (of Orissa) played during its course.

I have made use of the libraries and materials of a number of institutions both inside and outside Orissa, *i.e.*, the National Archives and Nehru Memorial Museum and library (New Delhi),Orissa State Archives and State Library (Bhubaneswar), Orissa Board of Revenue Library (Cuttack) and some District and Sub-divisional office Record rooms of the state. I owe a sense of gratitude to the authorities of these institutions. I am also thankful to those illustrious freedom fighters who ungrudgingly allowed me to talk to them freely and frankly for an in-depth assessment of the situation during the period.

I am deeply indebted to Prof. Raj Kishore Mishra, the Editor of the Orissa Review who took interest in the work, gave me his valuable suggestions and constant encouragement. I am also very much grateful to Dr. Maheswar Panda, a senior colleague of mine, who painstakingly scrutinised the text and offered his considered views on the contents.

I am thankful to my wife Smt. Jayanti Rath and daughter Sreerupa, who helped me in various ways while preparing the draft. I also express my deep sense of gratitude to my friend Dr. Girish Chandra Misra and his wife Smt. Diptiprava Misra for their help and cooperation in bringing out this publication.

Finally, the book is dedicated to the loving memories of the martyrs and the myriads of freedom fighters who spearheaded the movement in Orissa to emancipate the *Mother-land* from the shackles of the imperialist bondage.

Bijay Chandra Rath

ABBREVIATIONS

AICC	All India Congress Committee.
AISPC	All India States' Peoples' Conference.
DCC	District Congress Committee.
F.No.	File Number.
GOI	Government Of India.
NAI	National Archives of India. New Delhi.
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. New Delhi.
OSA	Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar.
OSPC	Orissa States' Peoples' Conference.
PCC	Provincial Congress Committee.
UPCC	Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee.

***

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

The Background

The *Quit India movement* or the *August Revolution* of 1942 marked the final phase of the mass upsurge against the British. It was the last and the most fierce struggle for freedom ever launched in India. In dimension and intensity it overtook all the earlier movements including the Great Revolt of 1857. The suffering of the masses during the course, knew no bounds because of the brutal and barbaric repressive policy pursued by the Government. The enthusiastic popular response often accompanied by instances of heroism and bravery, the untold sufferings and sacrifices, hastened the British decision to *Quit India*.

On 1 September, 1939, Nazi Germany attacked Poland and with this , began the second world war. Britain and France, which had been pursuing a policy of appeasement towards the Nazi leader, Hitler, lost their patience and supported the cause of Poland on 3 September. Within a few hours of the declaration of war, the Viceroy proclaimed India to be in a State of belligerency with Germany without caring to consult the Congress or the elected representatives of the Central legislature. The British Parliament hurriedly passed in eleven minutes the Government of India Amendment Act and empowered the Viceroy to override the provisions of the constitution even in respect of the provincial autonomy. The Defence of India ordinance was promulgated on 3 September, 1939 itself, making civil liberty the worst casualty in the name of defence and public safety.

The Congress condemned fascism and was in full sympathy with the victims of fascist aggression. But they were also strongly opposed to imperialism. However, the anti-fascist feeling among the Congress leaders was very strong and so, immediate reaction of the Congress to the declaration of the war was conciliatory. The official Congress stand was adopted at a meeting of the Congress Working Committee held at Wardha from 10 to 14 September, 1939. On the last day (14 September) a statement was issued by the Congress which clearly explained the views of the party:

> *"If the war is to defend the statusquo, imperialist possessions, colonies, vested interests and privilege, then India can have nothing to do with it. If, however the issue is democracy and a world order based on democracy, then India is intensely interested in it..........*
>
> *.....A free democratic India will gladly associate herself with other free Nations for mutual defence against aggression and for economic cooperation.... (but) cooperation must be between equals and by mutual consent.... The Working committee, therefore, invite the British Government to declare in unequivocal terms what their war aims are in regard to democracy and Imperialism and the new order that is envisaged; in particular, how these aims are going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present..... Do they include treatment of India as a free Nation whose policy will be guided in accordance with the wishes of her people ?.... The real test to any declaration is its application in the present.......*

But the response of the British Government was far from satisfactory from the Indian point of view. Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy in a statement on 17 October' 39 expressed his inability to define the British war aims beyond stating that Britain was resisting

aggression. It was considered impracticable to transfer substantial power to the Indian people during the war. It was stated that after the war the British Government would enter into consultations with the representatives of various sections and groups in India and with the Indian Princes to see what modifications were necessary in the 1935 Act so that "India may attain her due place among the great dominions" Thus it became clear that the British Government had no intention of loosening their grip on India during or after the war. They wanted to give India *Dominion status within the empire*, not full and complete freedom. The vice-regal statement was not acceptable to the Congress and the Working Committee meeting on 23 October rejected the offer. They decided not to support the war and called upon the Congress ministries to resign as a protest. Long parleys continued between the Viceroy and the Congress leaders which did not serve any purpose but only confirmed that the British Government was firmly resolved to maintain its imperialist hold on India. But the Congress leadership was still reluctant to launch a massive anti-imperialist struggle. The Congress view was summed up in the resolution adopted at Ramgarh session (of the congress) in March 1940. The resolution asserted that *"nothing short of complete independence can be accepted by the people"* and declared that the Congress would resort to civil disobedience *"as soon as the congress organisation is considered fit enough for the purpose, or in case circumstances so shape themselves as to precipitate a crisis"*

Meanwhile the European situation began to change drastically against the Allies and Germany over-ran almost the whole of Europe. There was expectation in the Congress circle that Britain in that hour of crisis would concede a settlement. The Congress offered to cooperate with the British Government, if a provisional national Government was set up at the Centre and the right to

independence was recognised. In August, 1940 came out a new declaration of policy, called the *"August-offer"* The Viceroy made a statement on behalf of the British Government which provided for the expansion of the Governor General's Executive council by including more Indians and the establishment of an 'Advisory war-council' After the war, the representative Indian body would be set up to frame the new constitution. The declaration explicitly promised dominion status. However, the Congress rejected the offer and Jawaharlal Nehru asserted, *" we want independence and not dominion or any other status"*

Acute scarcity of essential commodities and the steep rise in prices because of the war had intensified discontent of the people. But the Government remained unmoved. War-time ordinances stifled the voice of the people and there was gagging of the press. Congressmen, specially the left-wingers were harassed and imprisoned all over the country. Under the circumstances Gandhiji decided to launch in October, 1940, a limited '*Satyagraha*' on an individual basis in every locality. He personally selected a number of '*Satyagrahis*' who would demand a freedom of speech, shout slogans against participation in the war and in the process be carted away to jail. Vinoba Bhave was chosen by Gandhiji to be the first leader to offer *Satyagraha* on 17 October, 1940 and Jawaharlal Nehru was the man next to follow. By 15, May 1941 more than 25,000 '*Satyagrahis*' were convicted and many more were left free by the Government. This action on the part of the Congress, though mild, created considerable commotion throughout the length and breadth of the country. It politically aroused, educated and mobilised the common people and warmed them up for a greater offensive in the days to come.

The global war entered into a critical phase by 1941. Having over-run Poland, Belgium, Holland, Norway and France, as well as

most part of Eastern Europe, Germany attacked Soviet Union in June, 1941. In December, (1941) Japan entered into the war on the side of the *Axis* powers and launched a surprise attack on the American fleet at pearl Harbour (7 December, 41). In the Asian theatre Japan achieved astounding success and quickly took over Philippines, Indo-China, Indonesia, Malay and Burma. With the Japanese occupation of Rangoon in March, 42, Indian frontiers were directly threatened. There were air-raids at Visakhapatnam and Kakinada in April and Japanese warships appeared in the Bay of Bengal.

As the war situation worsened, the Allied powers had some anxious moments as regards the safety of India in the event of Japanese aggression. The active cooperation of the Indian population in the war efforts was felt necessary to combat Japanese onslaught. President Roosevelt of the USA and Chaing-Kai-Shek of China as also the labour party leaders of Britain put pressure on the British Govemment to seek the active cooperation of the Indians in the war.

To secure the cooperation of the Indian people, the British Government sent to India Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the war cabinet, with a '*Draft declaration*' The draft promised India '*Dominion-status*' and a Constituent Assembly after the war, whose members would be elected by the provincial Assemblies and nominated by the rulers in case of the princely states. There was also proviso in the draft that any province could, if it so desired, remain outside the Indian union and negotiate direct with Britain. For the war period, the British would continue to exercise the sole control over the defence of the country.

The Cripps proposals were rejected by almost all parties. The Congress objected to the provision for '*Dominion-status*' rather than complete Independence, nomination of the representatives

by the rulers from the princely states, and above all by the provision for partition of India. The British government also refused to accept the demand for the immediate transfer of effective power to the Indians and for a real share in the responsibility for the defence of India.

The failure of the Cripps mission plunged the whole of India into a state of frustration and anger. Gandhiji felt very much disappointed and became increasingly convinced of the inevitability of a mass struggle asking for the British withdrawal and the adoption of a non-violent non-cooperation against the possible Japanese aggression through the eastern frontier. On 10 May 1942, he (Gandhiji) expounded his views in the `*Harijan*': "*The presence of the British in India is an invitation to Japan to invade India. Their withdrawal removes that bait*" Despite the fact that the general mood was very much anti-fascist, it was equally intolerant of the Imperialist domination.

This was the period when there was acute scarcity of essential commodities. The rise in prices affected the economy adversely. War time regulations and high-handed Government actions, such as the commandeering of boats in the eastern coast to prevent them from falling into enemy hands (Japanese) in the event of an invasion, had led to considerable anger among the people. The growing feeling of an imminent British collapse gained currency. People withdrew their deposits from the banks and the post offices and started hoarding gold, silver and coins. The popular faith in the stability of the British-rule dwindled away. The people were getting demoralized and that in the event of a Japanese onslaught, they might not resist at all. Gandhiji thought it imperative to bring them (people) out of this demoralized state of mind and to inculcate in them a sense of confidence to resist Japanese aggression. Therefore, he exhorted the people to launch a

movement urging upon the British to hand over power to the Indians and quit.

The Congress Working Committee met at Wardha on 14 July, 1942 and formulated the '*National Demand*'. It urged upon Britain to transfer power immediately and '*Quit India*'. It was threatened, if the proposal was rejected, "*the Congress will then be reluctantly compelled to utilise all the non-violent strength it might have gathered since 1920*" and launch a movement of direct-action. Thus the Congress for the first time accepted the idea of a struggle. Such a struggle must inevitably be under the leadership of Gandhiji. A meeting of the AICC was convened at Bombay on 7 August to endorse this decision of the Working Committee.

The historic AICC session at Gowalia Tank ground in Bombay on 8 August approved the famous "*Quit India*" resolution. The demand, however, was not uncompromising. There was, however, an offer of cooperation in the war-effort contained in it. It called upon the government to act immediately. After the resolution had been passed Gandhiji's impassioned speech for 140 minutes, the longest he ever made, clearly delineated the plans he had in view for the movement. He first made it clear that "*the actual struggle does not commence this moment. You have only placed all your powers in my hands. I will now wait upon the Viceroy and plead with him for the acceptance of the Congress demand. That process is likely to take two or three weeks*". But he added, "*You may take it from me that I am not going to strike a bargain with the Viceroy for ministries and the like. I am not going to be satisfied with anything short of complete freedom*". He said, "*I want freedom immediately, this very night, before dawn, if it can be had......the congress must win freedom or be wiped out in the effort; and forget not that the freedom which the Congress is struggling to achieve will not be for the Congressmen alone but*

for all the forty crores of the Indian people.... Every one of you should consider from this moment onwards a free man or woman and act as if you are free and are no longer under the heel of this imperialism. It is not a make-believe that I am suggesting to you. It is the very essence of freedom. The bond of the slave is snapped, the moment he considers to be a free being" He added" Here is a mantra, a short one, that I give you. You may imprint it on your hearts and let every breath of yours give expression to it. The 'mantra' is 'We shall do or die'. We shall either free India or die in the attempt, we shall not live to see the perpetuation of our slavery....

But the Government was in no mood to either negotiate with the Congress or wait for the movement to be formally launched. It reacted swiftly and in a pre-dawn swoop (9 August, 42) Gandhiji and other leaders were arrested under the Defence of India rules. Gandhiji was interned at the Aga Khan Palace in Poona and other leaders were confined in the Ahmed Nagar fort. The Congress organisation was declared unlawful. Congress headquarters at Allahabad was sealed and the AICC funds confiscated. Wholesale arrests of congress men started in every province. Press came under rigorous censorship and several newspapers preferred to close down as a protest. The entire country was stunned at the sudden turn of events. Spontaneous protest movements accompanied by sporadic incidents of violence disrupted the normal life every where. The storm centres of the *Quit India Movement* lay in a wide area stretching from Bombay, Satara, Ahmedabad in the west, U.P and Bihar in the north to Bengal and Orissa in the east. The Government resorted to a terrible repressive policy.

According to the official estimate in the first week after the arrest of the leaders, 250 railway stations were damaged or destroyed and over 500 post offices and 150 police stations were

attacked. Between 9 August, 1942 and 31 December 1942 according to the summary of official statements, 62, 229 persons were arrested; 18,000 detained under the Defence of India Regulations; 940 killed by police or military firing; and 1,630 injured through police or military firing in the whole of India. Though the martial law had not been proclaimed, the army unleashed a reign of terror to stamp down the mass upsurge.

Repressive measures could only scotch the movement but failed to kill it. An all-India underground leadership emerged with prominent members such as Achyut Patwardhan, Aruna Asaf Ali, Ram Manohar Lohia, Sucheta Kripalini, Chhotubhai Purnik, Biju Patnaik. R.P.Goenka and later after his escape from Jail, Jayaprakash Narayan. They did not direct the movement exactly, the local groups retained the initiative. Congress Socialists were generally on the lead and others like members of the Forward Bloc, revolutionary terrorists, other Congress men etc. were also active. The number involved in the underground activity was small, but they received all-out support from the cross-sections of the Indian society. The underground activities were restricted to the disruption of communications by destroying bridges, cutting telegraph and telephone lines, derailing of trains etc. Attacks were made on Government offices and police stations. The police informers were also made targets at some places. Congress radios operated clandestinely from different places. These activities succeeded in keepingup the spirit of the people in a situation when open mass action was impossible before the superior might of the Government.

Gandhiji undertook a fast for twenty one days in jail from 10 February' 43 as a mark of protest against the "*leonine-violence*" of the State, which included the unwarranted detention of thousands of Congress men. The popular response was

overwhelming. It acted as a morale booster and the anti-British feeling became more intense. The attempt of the government to justify the policy of suppression drew flak from all-quarters.

With the launching of the movement, the last nail to the coffin of British imperialism was pricked. The count down had started. It was only a matter of time, when on 15 August, 1947 to quote Jawaharlal Nehru, *"At the stroke of the mid night hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom."*

* * *

CHAPTER II

Political Mobilisation in Orissa

In obedience to the directive of the Congress Working Committee, the (Congress) ministry in Orissa resigned on 4 November, 1939 as a protest against the British war Policy. A secret but systematic agitation was carried on propagating against war efforts and the British administration.[1] Congress in Orissa also directed its efforts towards enlightening the masses about Gandhiji's constructive programme and later to prepare the ground for individual anti-war '*satyagraha*' A training centre for initiating the volunteers into the cult of '*satyagraha*' was opened at Bari in the district of Cuttack. The provincial and all district Congress committees were converted into '*satyagraha*' committees under the control of '*dictators*' who were appointed to control and guide the actions of the committees. The anti-war agitation was carried on in orissa vigorously by the united efforts of the Congress, the socialists as well as Congress sympathisers among the students and the communists.[2] Side by side with the anti-war agitation, was carried on the congress programme of constructive work like removal of untouchability, use of '*Khadar*' and the expansion of the basic system of education. The '*satyagraha*' campaign was temporarily suspended in December, 1941 and the congress workers were asked to concentrate on the constructive programme of Gandhiji.

At the end of the year (November 1941), the MLAs of the *Swaraj Party* and others succeeded in forming a coalition ministry with the *Maharaja* of Parlakhemundi as the premier, Pandit

Godavarish Mishra and Maulavi A.S.Khan being the other members of the Cabinet. The coalition ministry declared that their policy was to defend India against foreign aggression and that assistance in the war efforts of Britain was a means to that end.[3] This policy of the coalition ministry, however, evoked strong criticism from the Congress as the latter stood for non-cooperation with the British in the prosecution of the war.

Japan's entry into the war and its subsequent sweep through the South-East-Asia in the early months of 1942 brought the war closer to the Indian borders and the entire coastline between Bengal and Madras became exposed to the danger of Japanese attack. Orissa became a vulnerable zone because of its geographical situation. It was generally believed that the Japanese might land somewhere on the unprotected coast of Orissa between Balasore and Chandipur from where they could make the industrial towns like Jamshedpur and Calcutta their targets.[4] Orissa was the only province where no representative of the army command was present with the provincial government. The people naturally became panicky in the country side. The strategic position of Orissa obviously put it in the war- zone during the World-War.[5]

The allied reverses in the South-East-Asia and the subsequent British withdrawal had a demoralizing effect on the public morale. It led to the assumption that British was not strong enough to protect India from the Japanese aggression. Popular opinion was infavour of immediate transfer of responsibility to Indian hands and for return of Indian troops to India for defence of the country. Further the Burmese evacuees gave exaggerated accounts of the casualties in Rangoon which led many to believe the incapability of the British to meet the Japanese aggression. The Government orders regarding light restrictions and air-raid precautions added to the growing uneasiness.

The attitude towards the war on the part of the Congress, the Communist and the students underwent a great change in January, 1942 as the latest development in the situation heralded danger for India.[6] The Utkal provincial Congress Committee in its session held on 10 and 11 January, 42 decided to concentrate on the maintenance of internal peace and order in the country. Accordingly volunteer corps were organised at different places and the members were instructed to patrol their areas in order to prevent chaos and crime. A committee was formed for enrolment of '*Santi-Sena*' (peace Brigade) in Balasore on 25 February, 1942 under the initiative of H.K.Mehatab. The Congress leaders exhorted the people to safeguard themselves against the approaching danger of war by joining the '*Santi Sena*' and to devote greater attention to constructive work. Thus the Congress considered that its role at that moment was to keep up the morale of the people and worked according to that principle. In accordance with the Congress plan of action a number of training centres were opened in several places to train workers in self-protection, self-sufficiency and first-aid as well as methods of constructive programme.

It was during the period, when Sir Stafford Cripps was busy in negotiating with the Indian leaders about the proposals, six to seven British naval ships were sunk by the Japanese near the Kujang coast in Cuttack district on 6 April, 1942. This created a flutter throughout the district as it was followed by a rumour that the Japanese had already landed in Orissa. Out of panic, people staged large scale exodus from the coastal belt to the interior rural areas. Around one-third of the population of the Cuttack district evacuated the coastal areas and moved to safer places in the interior.[7] Government servants of the lower rank also sent their families to the distant places and the business men, mostly belonging to *marwari* and *kachhi* communities started winding up their business.

There were no anti-air craft guns at the disposal of the provincial government and the whole civil defence machinery was in shambles. After the incident at Kujang coast, the Government machinery virtually came to a grinding-halt for two-three days and the people got stuck with fear.[9] The city of Cuttack wore a deserted look because of large scale evacuation, as if the area was badly hit by famine and epidemics.[10]

After the incident of 6 April the Government took drastic precautionary measures for the security of the province. The coastal people were asked to remove all conveyances like country boats, cycles, and motor vehicles, if any, twenty miles inland. But what really irked the people was that these orders were often accompanied with the threat that if (the conveyances) not removed they would be destroyed.[11] Strict restrictions were imposed on the use of lights in the four coastal districts. The Secretariat and other important government offices were shifted to Sambalpur.[12] All these measures created a sense of panic and restlessness among the common people and increased the distrust towards the alien Government. Remours were afloat about the impending fall of the British Government and the Japanese presence in the region.

Much of the difficulty was man-made because of the shortsighted actions of the unimaginative officials who had no knowledge of the local conditions. When boats were seized, thousands of people were thrown out of employment in the coastal area. The drying up of canals to prevent the entry of the enemy through water-routes, while there were virtually no troops to check them on the land, was a sheer foolishness.[13] It also badly affected the transport system. Another Government order prohibited the people to keep paddy and rice at their disposal within twenty miles of the coast, for fear of being used by the enemy. But it was naive

to believe that the enemy at the time of aggression would depend upon the food stuffs of the local people. The cup of the misery was full when a Government notification advised the people within twenty miles of the coastal line, to evacuate. The Government failed to understand the resultant difficulties of the mass displacement of the population. Similarly, light restriction imposed during the night, while there were no anti-air craft guns, was also quite unreasonable.[14] In villages, the people were not even allowed to use the kerosene lamps. These restrictive orders only caused much hardship to the people and contributed largely to the prevailing panic and helplessness.

There was acute scarcity of essential commodities like wheat, salt, sugar, kerosene, food grains and paper throughout the province, which resulted in a steep rise in prices. Added to that, hoarding and black-marketing by unscrupulous elements put the innocent rural folk in immense trouble. A sense of insecurity and uncertainty pervaded everywhere. It was because of this feeling of insecurity, there were heavy withdrawals from the Post-office savings bank in those months.[15] Taking advantage of the abnormal situation, anti-social elements became active and from February and March, the crime rate increased four fold.[16] The people were so much disgusted with the prevailing state of affairs in Orissa that they had started expressing pro-Japanese views openly.[17] "*Anti British feeling naturally grew after Cripps failure, it is the most natural thing in the world for a colonial people to think that its enemy's enemy is its friend, at least for the time- being*".[18]

Soon after the British ships were sunk near the Kujang coast, Gandhiji sent Miraben to tour Orissa. The Congress activities in the province received a definite boost with her arrival. She stayed in *Swaraj Ashram* at Cuttack and worked for about one and half months. During her stay in Orissa, she undertook extensive tours throughout the province. W.H.Lewis, the Governor of the province

in his report to the Governor-General observed *"Her general plan, no doubt is to develop Congress propaganda on the lines that if trouble comes here the Government will withdraw and desert the people, but even if the districts are over-run by invaders; Congress will stay with people and look after them"*.[19] She made it clear that the Congress intended to build up a system which would be competent enough to take over administration with a view to protecting the people in the event of the invader's (Japanese) aggression. She explained to the Congress workers, Gandhiji's policy of non-violent resistance against the Japanese aggressor. Thus the people of Orissa were mobilised to face the enemy, if they ever invaded the province.

The Congress made a vigorous drive to establish intimate contact with the masses. The villagers were advised not to get unduly alarmed. They were taught to defend themselves and to resist the enemy in case of any invasion.

The PCC was revitalised and the main thrust of the Congress activities was aimed at the maintenance of internal peace and order. The districts were subdivided into units of ten or twenty. These units were instructed to confine themselves to the service and protection of their respective localities. *"Watch and ward"* committees were setup to guard villages during the nights and to help in carefully evacuating the people from coastal areas.[20]

Seven training camps were conducted in Cuttack, where fifty workers were trained. Some of them were to take charge of *'Mofussil Swavalambi Khadi and volunteer centres'*. Twenty-two *Swavalambi Khadi* centres and a number of helping committees were opened in various parts of the province. Efforts were made by the PCC towards preparing the masses for accepting Congress administration in any area affected by foreign invasion. No clear-cut instructions were issued about the course of action to

be followed and the local leaders were free to respond to the attitude of the provincial government.

The reaction to the Wardha resolution (14 July 42) of the (Congress) Working Committee in the Congress circle of Orissa was very favourable. The Congress workers carried on vigorous propaganda to educate the masses for the proposed movement of '*direct-action*', in case of rejection of the proposal by the British. The socialists in Orissa became very happy and pledged their wholehearted support to the new move of Gandhiji. Rama Nandan Mishra, the organising Secretary of the Congress Socialist Party paid a visit to Cuttack on 22 July'42 with the object of studying the local political situation. After his visit the activities of the Congress were further intensified. The Utkal Provincial Kisan Sangh extended a helping hand to the Congress in this anti-imperialist struggle. Majority of the communists and the members of the students' federation of Orissa also could not afford to remain isolated, and supported the movement against the British Imperialism.

Instructions, purported to have been imparted by Gandhiji some time before the AICC met at Bombay, concerning the "*Last Struggle*" were secretly circulated in manuscript form.[21] All Indians were advised henceforth to consider themselves as citizens of *Free India*. They were instructed to do the following

1. To demolish the prevailing system of Government and form alternative local Government by establishing *Panchayats*.
2. To form an army of peace in each *Panchayat*.
3. To disobey the existing Government, its laws and officers.
4. To indulge in acts such as non-payment of rent, cutting of forest, manufacture of salt.
5. To demand land for the peasants and to seize lands if the *Zamindars* do not surrender voluntarily.

6. To demand excess paddy from the *Zamindars* and to seize the excess paddy, if not surrendered for distribution among hungry people.
7. To boycott all persons who use force against the Congress workers or who purchase the Congress property sold by the Government.
8. To endeavour to gain over the Police.

In Orissa, as elsewhere in the country, early in the morning of 9 August, 42 all important leaders were taken into custody. The Government by a special Gazette Notification (No.137 Res and 147 Res dated 9-8-42) declared the Congress and other allied organisations in the province, thirty-eight in all, as unlawful and the police took possession of those notified places quickly. A list of 26 persons was prepared by the Government for their immediate arrest. Out of them, with the exception of Smt. Malati Choudhury and Surendra nath Dwivedi, all the other 24 persons were pickedup from different places of Orissa. The first batch included Gopabandhu Choudhury, Nabakrushna Chowdhury, Biswanath Dash, Rama Devi, Nityananda Kanungo, Rajakrishna Bose, Surendranath Patnaik, Pandit Prana Kurshna Padhiary, Madan Mohan Patnaik, Sadasiva Tripathy, Radhakrishna Biswasray, Bhagirathi Mohapatra, Manmohan Choudhury, Radhanath Rath, Acharya Harihar Dash, Lokanath Mishra (Panka Babu), Sudhir Chandra Ghose, Nilambar Das, Karunakar Panigrahi, Surendranath Das, Rabindramohan Das, Maulana Muhammad Attahar etc.[22] The historic AICC session at Bombay was attended by Harekrishna Mahatab, Malati Choudhury, Surendranath Dwivedi, Prahlad Ray Lath and Laxmi Narayan Mishra from Orissa. H.K.Mahatab was arrested on the morning of 9 August along with other Congress Working Committee members at Bombay and was lodged in the Ahmed Nagar fort.

The pre-emptive action of the Government to nip the movement in the bud actually back-fired. It agitated not only the Congressmen but also the Communists, the Socialists, the Forward Blockists, and the Student Federationists in Orissa, who extended their support to the national cause and protested against the repressive policy of the Government.[23] There were strikes and *haratals*, protest meetings and demonstrations, and sticking of menacing anti-imperialist posters on the walls. Because of the sudden action of the government, the political parties faltered for a while, but soon they recovered from the initial shock. The movement in Orissa started assuming menacing proportions towards the latter part of August, 42. The people openly defied the government authorities. They resorted to civil-disobedience and no tax campaign. In the process, violence ensued in many places. The arrest of the leaders and the measures taken against the Congress organisation intensified the hatred of the people against the British. The common people were led to believe by their local leaders that '*Swaraj*' was an accomplished fact and they were incited to indulge in acts of lawlessness. Instances of arson,looting and acts of sabotage became more frequent among the unruly mobs in different parts of the province and the princely states of Orissa. The students launched strikes and organised demonstrations against the British authorities. The political prisoners violated the jail regulations and resorted to indiscipline. A wide-spread movement started in Orissa challenging the authority of the British government and creating terror in the minds of the officials and pro-British elements.

Summing up briefly, with the Japanese occupation of Rangoon in March, 1942, the whole of eastern coast of India was threatened and the British Government was thoroughly demoralised. The precautionary measures taken to thwart the Japanese onslaught hit the coastal people hard and made them look at the alien rule

with disdain and distrust. On the other hand, along with the anti-war propaganda was carried on the Congress programme of constructive work, which led to the mass articulation of the nationalist sentiment in Orissa. The war time economic depression and the acute scarcity of the essential commodities, however, made the people vocal against the British rule. Therefore, when the call was given to rise against the Government, the response of the people was enthusiastic and spontaneous.

Under-ground organisation :

Surendranath Dwivedi, member AICC, was the king-pin of the underground activities in Orissa. He belonged to the socialist group of the Congress and was in close touch with the leading socialist members of the time like Achuta Patawardhan, Ram Manohar Lohia, Ashok Meheta, Rama Nandan Mishra, Aruna Asaf Ali, Yousuf Meherally, Nabakrushna Chowdhury etc. He was a believer of the peaceful Gandhian non-violent mass-movement. But like many socialist compatriots of the period, he did not think it desirable to suspend or terminate a mass-movement on the ground that it (movement) turned violent.[24] Yet (like other socialists), he strongly subscribed to the view that a mass-movement in India could only be possible under Gandhiji's leadership and there was no alternative to it.[25] Gandhiji was a brilliant strategist and it was his firm conviction which prompted the Congress to launch the movement in that critical period of 1942.

Surendra Nath Dwivedi left for Bombay on 3 August 42 from Cuttack to attend the AICC meeting. He reached there on 6 August and took part in all the activities there. After the '*Quit India*' resolution was passed by the AICC, Yousuf Meherally, the then Mayor of Bombay, convened a secret meeting of the socialists at his residence. Among others, Achuta Patawardhan, Ram Manohar Lohia, Ram Nandan Mishra, Ashok Meheta, Smt. Malati

Chowdhury, Surendra nath Dwivedi etc. were present. There it was decided to launch the under ground movement against the British by hoodwinking the police. Surendranath Dwivedi was entrusted with the charge of spearheading the movement in Orissa.[26] Malati Devi, who was present in the meeting also endorsed the proposal. But it was considered desirable for her (Malati Devi) to court arrest in Orissa, as the confinement of a lady of her stature was sure to incite the public opinion against the British.

On 9 August, while Surendra Nath was going to meet Gandhiji the latter was already arrested. He met his Secretary, Pyarelal who gave him a small message of Gandhiji.[27] It contained a sort of directive _ *"our country is independent from today. Follow the peaceful method to wipe out the last streak of British-Imperialism. Paralyse the government. You are your own leader. This is the last struggle. In it there is no compromise"* The last sentence of the message was very meaningful, which made it clear that there was no scope for a dialogue with the Viceroy. From Bombay he despatched this message to all the District Congress Committees of Orissa, which spread like wild fire. The innocent people of Koraput really believed the message to have come from Gandhiji himself.

Malati Devi and Surendranath Dwivedi left Bombay for Orissa on the evening of 9 August. To avoid arrest at Cuttack railway-station both of them got down from the train (Madras Mail)at Bhubaneswar on 11 August, 42. Bhubaneswar was then a small town of pilgrimage and no political importance could then be attached to the city. They became guests of Bhubanananda Das, who was then a noted political figure of Orissa. But they did not consider it safe to prolong their stay at Bhubaneswar because of heavy police surveillance. Malati Devi and Surendra Nath set out for Cuttack separately. Both of them again met at the residence of

Dukhishyam Mohanty of Urali, a village in the outskirts of the city of Cuttack on the other side of Kathjori river. On the way to village Urali, Surendranath met Gouranga Charan Das of Bagalpur, a brave and dedicated freedom fighter. Both of them hatched out a plan, how to effectively organise the underground movement in Govind pur and Jagatsingh pur area.

Both Malati Devi and Surendra reached Cuttack on the same night by crossing over the river Kathjori in a small boat. Malati Devi reached her Bakhrabad residence and the very next day morning she was arrested while proceeding to address a public meeting at the College square, Cuttack. The Police were searching for her from 9 August and her arrest created a great deal of excitement in the town. She was the chief guiding spirit in most of the revolutionary movements in Orissa.

Surendranath Dwivedi could manage to reach the residence of Udyanath Rath of Raja Bagicha, Cuttack who happened to be a man of his village. He operated from that place initially before shifting to his secret hide-out at Alisha Bazar. There he confabulated with some of his trusted friends and acquaintances including some government servants secretly about the proposed under ground movement in Orissa.

From Raja Bagicha Surendra Nath shifted to Alisha Bazar in Cuttack town with the help of his friend Radhanath Pandit who was then working as a Hindi teacher in the Cuttack Convent School. Biswanath Pandit, who happened to be his (Radhanath's) younger brother also got himself actively associated with the secret movement. The novel feature of the *August Revolution* was the spontaneous mass upsurge. People voluntarily came forward to help the spread of the movement. With such a consideration Mathurananda Sahu, the eldest son of Nanda Kishore Sahu (popularly known as Nandi Sahu) of Alisha Bazar provided the

young revolutionaries an abode in that area (Prusti Gali, Gauda Sahi, Alisha Bazar) from where they operated clandestinely. There they concentrated on three things- (1) Publication of bulletins through which instructions were issued and their circulation, (2) establishment of contact with different places inside the province for the spread of the movement, and (3) contact with persons at the National level.

Alisha Bazar became the headquarters of the secret organisation and branches were opened at different parts of the province. Surendranath Dwivedi was described as 'C.O.', meaning the Central Office or the Chief Organiser and persons in charge of the branches of the Organisation were known as 'B.O.s', Branch Officers or Branch Organisers. They selected certain persons to be used as "*accommodation addresses*" which means, persons who would not be suspected by the police as being members of the Congress Organisation. Letters, leaflets and bulletins were to be sent to those *accommodation addresses* and then distributed and published in different parts of the province through their field-workers. The C.O. was to receive reports from the B.Os., as to the happening in different parts of the province and those reports would be incorporated in bulletins to be issued by the C.O. The organisation asked the people to indulge in different kinds of acts of sabotage; for example, fomenting strikes in schools and colleges, asking government servants to resign their posts, taking possession of '*thanas*', burning public records in offices, and removing railway lines and fish plates with a view to disrupting the rail-link. A bulletin named "*Congress-Barta*" was circulated soon.

For the publication of bulletins, Mathurananda Sahu arranged a lithography machine. Incidentally, the machine which was used for the national cause was stolen from the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, a few days before. Banamali Mishra, the Hindi-teacher of the Mission High School became associated with the secret

movement. As his handwriting was good, he was entrusted with the duty of copying down the material in the litho-paper. The first bulletin, when circulated, created a great deal of flutter in the city. Police failed to get any trace of it. Mainly the distribution of the bulletins and leaflets was carried on by the students. Satchida Nanda Mishra, who happened to be a personal friend of Surendra Nath Dwivedi and a teacher in a local school, remained in charge of the distribution. He utilised the services of some of his obedient and faithful students for the work. Banka Behari Das, a B. A. student of Ravenshaw college became also an activist of this underground organisation. Within a few days, a well-knit organisation emerged. Banamali Mishra, Biswanath Pandit, Mathurananda Sahu, Satchidananda Mishra, and Banka Behari Das remained in charge of different departments of the organisation.[28] But Radhanath Pandit was entrusted with discharging the most difficult work secretly. He was virtually the soul of the organisation. He used to go to Calcutta in disguise, carrying messages to and from Calcutta office of the underground movement. He was also very proficient in collecting secret information of the government from different quarters.

With this out-fit, the underground activities were carried on in Orissa. After the arrest of the leaders at Bombay, the main centre for underground activities was shifted to Calcutta.[29] The activists of Orissa had established contact with the Calcutta centre, where leaders like Aruna Asaf Ali, Ram Manohar Lohia, and Annada Prasad Chowdhury were directing the underground activities.[30] On the whole, people in different parts carried on their own organisation and acted keeping an eye on the local conditions.

During this period, a young man namely Bhairab Chandra Mohanty who was working in the Education Department of the Government, resigned from service on 12 August, 42 for the

nationalist cause. He became involved with the underground organisation and Sambalpur became his sphere of activity.

Surendra Nath Dwivedi before going underground was the manager of the United Press Agency at Cuttack. Then, Bhikari Mohanty was working as his assistant in that office. When the underground activities started, Bhikari served a very useful purpose. Through him the litho paper and ink were procured and the messages were sent to different persons. Seth Seo Chand Rao, a broker in the Cuttack Malgodown, who was also a Congress man used to supply the entire litho-paper and the ink for the publication of the bulletins.[31]

Anil Kumar Ghosh, who belonged to a family of the freedom fighters, remained in charge of organising the movement in the interior of the Cuttack district. Uttara, the younger daughter of Naba Krishna Chowdhury and students like Banamali Patnaik, Jaya Krishna Mohanty etc. also got themselves actively involved with the work of distributing secret [illegible]

In the meantime, [illegible]ma Na[illegible] [illegible] leader of the Socialist group and Secretary of the All In[illegible] K[illegible] Sabha reached Cuttack. The clandestine meeting between him and Surendra Nath took place on 19-20 August, 42 at the residence of Prana Nath Mishra, who was the proprietor of Orissa Book Emporium. Prananth Mishra was an active supporter of the movement. Correspondence with different persons in Orissa was carried on secretly in the name of the Emporium. Usually the bulletins and leaflets in the form of book packets were sent from Cuttack in the name of book-sellers of different places to avoid suspicion. During the course of his discussion Rama Nandan mainly emphasized two things - (1) to destroy the rail-link so that the mobilization of troops would be affected in the south-eastern region and (2) to persuade highly placed officers of the Government to resign for the national cause. In a feat of excitement, he decided

to meet the then Collector of Cuttack, L.P.Singh (who was a man of his district in Bihar) in a bid to persuade him to resign. But unfortunately in the process he was arrested. Rama Nandan was lodged in Berhampur jail and then shifted to Bihar.

In course of time, contact was established with All-India Central underground organisation. Instructions and bulletins were sent by the Central organisation to different provincial units. Surendra Nath Dwivedi was known by different names here in Orissa like '*Babaji*', '*C.O.*', '*Bhai*' etc. Similarly those who were organising the movement at the national level, were known by different names. Sucheta Kripalini was known as "*Didi* or *Bahenji*" Baba Raghav Das as "*Dadi*" Ram Manohar Lohia was called "*Doctor*" Aruna Asaf Ali was known as "*Kadam*" and Achut Patawardhan was known as "*Kusum*" Different pen-names were used because in case of interception of the mail, the police would not be able to identify the person.

At first the office of the Central organisation was housed at Bombay and then transferred to different places. But regular contact was maintained with other provincial and regional out-fits. Bulletins and instructions were sent to them and news from different regions were collected. But it would be a mistake to infer that the underground activities in the country were either conducted or directed by them. The organisers at the national level only met occasionally at different places like Delhi, Benaras, Bombay and Calcutta to take stock of the situation. It was difficult on their part to meet frequently in the face of heavy police surveillance. On the whole, leaders at provincial, regional and sub-regional level mobilised masses in their areas taking into consideration the local conditions and the popular response. The activists in Orissa used to keep contact with the Calcutta centre. Even an emissary of Subhas Chandra Bose met once the leaders of Orissa organisation and imparted certain instructions.

The active units in this struggle were individuals and not mass formation dependent for every move on extraneous command.[32] The appeal was made directly to the individual. This movement was decentralised, individualistic, anarchical, yet it had a direction and its anarchy was deliberate and purposeful.[33] The movement did not conform to a uniform pattern in all areas for this reason. The particular local grievance, which was most acute in the area should be taken up and each such problem would be the focal point for the initiation of the movement in that area. There was no class or section, no social or functional unit which was not disaffected against the state. The purpose was to exploit the discontent and frustration in each layer of the society and to nurse that into a disruptive force. The strategy was to make the people understand that colonialism was at the root of their plight and the movement was to continue till the overthrow of the colonialism. The termination of the alien rule being the goal, what ever seemed helpful for its attainment, looked permissible and legitimate.

The issue of leaflets, bulletins, directions to the fighting line, raising of funds etc. was carried on secretly by the organisation. Side by side freedom of action was allowed to the units at every level. Bulletins and leaflets which were distributed were in part an account of what had been done and in part an incitement to do more. Through them a clarion call for committing acts of bravery was given.

The headline of a bulletin was "*Cuttack people ought to drown*" It started with a reference to what had been happening in Bihar, where it was said that the people had truly responded to the call of the Congress. As a result, no trace of railway lines or telegraph lines could be found in some regions. Also Post-Offices, Police-Stations and Government offices had been burnt and destroyed. At the end, the people of Cuttack were reproved because they had not followed the example.

Another bulletin which was issued on the occasion of '*Gandhi Jayanti*', it was said that the funeral pyre of the weak Government was burning in flames throughout the country......At places Government buildings were râzed to dust and at places the Government was made a ghost of straw and burnt away. The fire was not to be extinguished. The fire must wipe out foreign government from this country...... On the grave of this sinful kingdom would be erected the government of peasants and workers and the administration of justice and righteousness.

Another bulletin named '*Congress Barta*' poured venoms against the then coalition-ministry in Orissa (Bulletin No.11, dated 17 September 1942) and the ministers were severely castigated as the agents of the British. Having dealt with the ministers the author selected Khan Saheb Musaheb Khan, the then A.D.M. of Cuttack for attention. He was described as an incarnation of oppression, as he was responsible for the devastation at Bari That particular bulletin further exhorted the people to "*violate the laws of the Government, carry on meetings and processions in towns and villages. Close the bazars. Like revolutionaries, rise in excitement, burn the police stations, law courts, Post offices and other offices of the Government. Remember that salvation lies in destruction. If you retreat, Gandhi's life will pass away. The hat factory set up at Cuttack for supply to the war has been burnt. Stop all efforts for the war. Do not become soldiers. Set fire to the aerodrome at Choudwar*". After this advice an account was given of an independent *Panchayat*, that had been set up at Dhusuri in Bhadrak sub-division. Then the bulletin went on to another matter that was the incitement of the government officers to abandon their duty. It was said that "the people of Ersama Police Station gheraoed the District Magistrate of Cuttack and demanded of him to give up service. He has taken seven days' time more to taste the sweetness of slavery" But this supposition was not a fact.

Another bulletin was entitled "*open-rebellion*". People were recommended to form Independent *Panchayats*. They were told to capture *thanas*, Dak-Bungalows, Revenue Office, Sub-Registrar's Office etc. Further they were asked to occupy the civil courts and the Collectorates in the *Sadar* towns. They were instructed to destroy the railway bridges and disrupt postal and telephone services.

A leaflet issued detailed instructions as to how to capture Police Stations. Police Stations were regarded as the backbone of the provincial administration and if they were captured then there would be nothing to fear. It was, therefore, suggested that five-six hundred people should be collected and taken to the police stations. Before their arrival, all communications with the police-station should be cut and Post Offices should be raided to prevent the authorities from giving information. People should carry *lathis* and sticks with them, because that would add to their courage and boldness. But the bulletin cautioned that the leader among them should be very careful to see that no one among them should use the *lathis* and sticks.

Another bulletin was addressed to all the officers of the Government including the Police Department to resign. All these bulletins were found to have been circulated throughout the province.

Rumours, baseless in nature, were spread as regards the activities of the underground organisation. People believed Surendra Nath Dwivedi to be a ferocious man who was out to kill the British officials including the Chief Secretary.[34] The entire atmosphere during these days was full of tension and excitement amidst great expectation. Detective stories were circulated about the underground work of Surendra Nath which projected him as a great hero and in the process imprinted an anti-colonial impression in the mass-mind. In the latter period when Kamal Lochan Mohanty

wrote two detective books in Oriya namely '*Ferar Dwivedi*' and '*Biplavi Dwivedi*', they were sold like hot-cakes in the market.

By October 1942, the whole of Orissa was in ferment. The police were trying frantically to locate the underground organisation and to round up the activists. Finally the Police could manage to get the clue from his handwriting (as he used to write the address) and arrested Banka Behari Das on 8 October 42 from the 'Kalynpur Mess' where he used to reside. He was followed by Satchida Nanda Mishra and his uncle Prananath Mishra. The arrest of Banka Behari Das and Satchida Nanda Mishra caused a great set-back to the underground movement. In the meantime, the Government in a Gazette notification threatened to confiscate the movable and immovable property the family, unless Surendra Nath Dwivedi surrendered within the stipulated time. Many people were arrested from different parts of Orissa and it became difficult to carry on the movement. As the Police became very alert, Surendra Nath had decided to escape to Calcutta.[35] But before actually he left, he was nabbed by the police at about 2.00 pm on 11 October, 42 while writing his last bulletin "*Devi-Aradhana*" The secret hide-out at Alisha Bazar was raided and the police seized the litho-machine, workers' list, some bundles of bulletins and other materials. Along with him was arrested Nabaghan Behera, who was an absconder from Dhenkanal. Basing upon the clues from the papers found there (secret hide-out at Alisha Bazar), the police arrested 86 persons from different parts of Orissa.[36] Surendera Nath Dwivedi was sent to Berhampur jail. After his arrest, the underground activities continued for some days by his compatriots like Radhanath Pandit, Biswanath Pandit, Anil Kumar Ghose, and Banamali Mishra. They established their link with the Calcutta Centre and the activities continued for about two months. Baishnab Charan Mohanty provided them the hide-out in Oriya Bazar from where they operated. During this phase of the movement, the

role of a physically crippled man (as he was a leper), Madhaba Nanda Singh by name was very commendable. He was entrusted with the duty of sticking posters in different parts of Cuttack town at night hoodwinking the Police. But they could not sustain for a longer period. Biswanath Pandit and Anil Kumar Ghose were arrested. Surendra Nath Dwivedi and fifteen others were tried in what was known as the "*Orissa Conspiracy case*" (special case No.I c of 1943). Fourteen of them were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. They were Surendra Nath Dwivedi, Nishamani Khuntia, Banka Behari Das, Narayan Prasad Mohanty, Narasingha Charan Mohanty, Lokanath Mishra, Adikanda alias Nabaghana Behera, Biswanath Parida, Goura Charan Das, Piarimohan Das, Dukhishyam Padhi, Ramakanta Das, Ghanashyam Patnaik and Bhairab Chandra Mohanty. The remaining two accused namely Satchida Nanda Mishra and Jadumani Jena were acquitted.

The circulation of bulletins and leaflets roused public emotion, and mob-violence erupted in many parts of the province and the princely States of Orissa. But the brutal repressive policy pursued by the Government succeeded in suppressing the mass upsurge by the end of 1942.

Biju Patnaik a daring nationalist of Orissa played a commendable role at this critical juncture of the freedom struggle. An ace pilot and navigator as he was, he had joined Indian National Air-ways and also served as the head of the Air-transport command during the war years from 1940-42. He used to make many dashing sorties to Moscow, Chunking and other important centres of war, while commanding one of the transport units during that period. A nationalist to the core, he could not keep himself aloof from the vortex of the *Quit-India Movement*. His role was unique during this period as he worked closely with the '*Augusters*', the leaders

of the underground movement like Jaya Prakash Narayan, Achuta Patawardhan, Ram Manohar Lohia, Aruna Asaf Ali etc. Reminiscing her association with him, Aruna Asaf-Ali says".....(he) was one of the most fearless (and veritable 'dare-devil') who mobilised his fellow pilots and inspired them to help the "*underground Directorate*".[37] He was sincere in his endeavour to turn sections of the armed forces against the Imperialists and was trying to contact the INA.[38] Jaya Prakash after his escape from Hazaribagh jail in late 42 found in Biju his most reliable escort in giving him secret air-lifts from one place of India to the other in his transport plane.[39] He was instrumental in linking up the '*Augusters*' with their comrades at different places like Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi etc. and thus facilitated close interaction among them for spearheading the movement. They were carried in cognito very often to different destinations in his air-craft. When Rajaji wanted to meet and dissuade the leaders of the movement from carrying-out their plans of underground resistance against the British, Biju Patnaik himself flew Rajaji from Madras to New Delhi for a straight dialogue with Jaya Prakash and other members of the '*Directorate*', sometime in December 42 -January, 43.[40] Jaya prakash in those days was very eager to establish contact with Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in Burma and chose Biju to make a secret air dash to Akyab for the purpose. But before he could execute his plan as the emissary of Jaya Prakash, he was arrested. He was put in the cell with shackles as a "*dangerous prisoner*" He had to face brutal torture at the hands of the British but remained unyielding. In the wake of Independence, he was released from jail at Cuttack and emerged as a hero.

* * *

Notes and References :

1. H.K. Mahatab and G.Das (ed.), *History of Freedom Movement in Orissa*, Vol. IV (Cuttack, 1957) p.54 (Hereafter *HFMO*).
2. *ibid*, p.57.
3. *ibid*, p.73.
4. Fort nightly reports from Government of Orissa for the second half of January, 1942. Government of India, Home Political Department, File No. 18/1/1942, National Archives of India, New Delhi.
5. H. Lewis to Linlithgow, 29 July 1942, F.No. 125/84, Linlithgow Papers (Microfilm, Reel No. 84) NMML.
6. *HFMO*, p.74.
7. GOI, Home Political Department, File No. 18/4/1942.
8. *A.B. Patrika*. 13 April, 1942.
9. H.K.Mahatab, *Sadhanara Pathe* (Cuttack, 1972) p.224.
10. S.N. Dwibedi, *August Biplab* (Cuttack, 1989), p.18.
11. H.K.Mahatab, op. cit, p.221.
12. *ibid*, p.224.
13. *ibid*, p.222.
14. *ibid*, p.221.
15. GOI, Home Political Department, fort nightly reports from the Government of Orissa for the months of March and April, 1942. File Nos. 18/4/42 and 18/5/42.
16. *ibid.*
17. H.K. Mahatab, op. cit, p.223.
18. Hiren Mukherjee, *India's struggle for freedom*, (Calcutta, 1962) p.237.
19. N. Mansergh (ed.), *Transfer of power*, vol. II, No.85 Lewis to Linlithgow,25 May 1942, p.121.
20. AICC papers, File No.P.22 (Part-I) dt. 15.3.42.

21. *HFMO*, Vol.V, (Cuttack, 1959), p.44.
22. S.N. Patnaik, *Odisare Swadhinata Andolana* (Cuttack, 1972) p.173.
23. *HFMO*, p.87
24. S.N.Dwivedi, *August, Biplab*, op. cit,. p.8.
25. *ibid.*
26. *ibid* p,.12.
27. *ibid* ,p.34.
28. *ibid*, p.57
29. *ibid*, p.71.
30. *ibid* , p.106.
31. *ibid*, p.70.
32. GOI, Home Political Department, File No. 3/83/42

    "*The Freedom struggle front*" - a document containing instructions for the Congress movement, purporting to have emanated from the Bombay AICC group.
33. *ibid.*
34. S.N. Dwivedi, *August, Biplab*, op. cit., p.59.
35. *ibid.* p.119.
36. *ibid.* p.126.
37. Aruna Asaf Ali in *Adyapi*. Souvenir, 1987, Paradip Port (Cuttack, 1987), p.36.
38. Surendra Mohan in *Adyapi, ibid*, p.4.
39. Samar Guha in *Adyapi, ibid*, p.2.
40. Aruna Asaf Ali in *Adyapi, ibid*. p.36.

CHAPTER III

The Flare-up in the Province

CUTTACK DISTRICT

The flare-up of the *Quit India Movement* in Orissa was perceived on 10 August, 1942 when the students of Ravenshaw College organised a protest-meeting at 1 PM in front of the main entrance of the Institution. The leaders like Bhagirathi Mishra and Upendra Mohanty exhorted the student mass to take the lead in the historic movement for freedom.[1] Fervent appeals were made to boycott the educational Institutions and to violate the laws of the Government. A general strike of the students in Ravenshaw College was followed up in all other educational Institutions of the town. The students of Ravenshaw Collegiate School, Pyarimohan Academy, Town Victoria School etc. boycotted their classes on 13 August.

The Orissa Students' Federation also actively participated in the agitation and it was decided to organise demonstrations and meetings every day in front of the Ravenshaw college premises demanding the release of the arrested leaders and the formation of National Government.[2] As tension mounted among the students, the Police arrested some prominent leaders like Durga Charan Mohanty, Sailen Mohapatra, Man Mohan Mishra, Satyabadi Mishra, Nrusingha Tripathy, Bhagirathi Mishra, Rama Chandra Ram, Baidyanath Rath, Bijay Chandra Das and many others. Much before the commencement of the Quit-India Movement Ashok Das, one

of the prominent leaders was lodged in Cuttack jail on the charge of conspiracy against the Government. The case against him (Ashok Das) was ultimately withdrawn by the Government and he was released on 3 October'42.

On 12 August, the Police arrested Balaram Mohanty from *Naba Bharat-press* building at Cuttack for publishing a seditious pamphlet "*Biplabi Subhas*" On 13 August, a public meeting was organised in the afternoon at Gouri Sankar Park of Cuttack town. The students constituted majority in that meeting. Among the students those who had taken active part to make the meeting a success, were Surajmal Saha, Radhakanta Padhi, Biren Mitra, Shyamaghana Patnaik etc. Dasarathi Behera, who gave a thunderous speech in the meeting, was arrested at night from his residence at Bakhrabad.

Meetings and demonstrations against the imperialist Government were carried on every day outside the College premises defying the prohibitory orders. The students of Ravenshaw College coined a term S.N.S. (Secret News Service) and notices and bulletins were circulated under this banner. On 15 August, 42, around two hundred students of Ravenshaw College went on rampage and set fire to the office-room of the College destroying the records and furniture.[3] Principal student leaders in this violent incident were Biren Mitra, Banamali Patnaik, Bibhudhendra Mishra, Surajmal Saha, Mayadhar Mohanty, Bijay Ketan Mangaraj etc. After Police investigation Surajmal Shah and Bibhudhendra Mishra were arrested under the Defence of India Act and sent to Berhampur Central Jail.[4] Police action did not deter them from participating in the movement and the student agitation became wide-spread.

Meanwhile, Surendra Nath Dwivedy and his lieutenants had started operating from the underground and that gave a fillip to the

revolutionary upsurge in Orissa. Posters appeared in the walls of the Cuttack city appealing the government servants to resign from their jobs for the national cause, inciting the people to stop the payment of taxes to the alien government, to cut telegraph lines and to destroy the rail-links. The repressive policy of the Government was condemned in the meetings and resolutions were passed demanding the release of the leaders and the establishment of a national Government.

On 18 August, some students of P.M.Academy, Town Victoria and Mission High School tried to take out a procession in the morning but they were dispersed by the Police.

About 300 students including few girls (students) of the Cuttack Medical School went round the campus in a procession on 8 September but they were dispersed after a *lathi charge*. Six of them were taken into custody. They included Motilal Tripathy, Rabindra Ghosh, Birakishore Mohanty etc. The Engineering School at Cuttack was closed down for an indefinite period from 18 September because of the student strike.

Large scale student unrest and abstention from classes paralysed the educational Institutions in Cuttack town. The strike in Ravenshaw College continued and the students of this Institution were involved in the movement at different parts of Orissa. The Principal expelled some students from the College and the boarders of the hostel protested against this action by mass-fasting. Even when the College reopened on 20 November, 42 the authorities exacted Rs.10/-from each boarder as security for good conduct. The students raised their voice against this action and demanded unconditional readmission of the expelled students and release of those detained on political grounds.

The people of the district gallantly responded to the call of the Congress and indulged in numerous acts of arson, looting and

sabotage. In Jajpur Sub-Division alone there were 71 revolutionary cases in one week during the month of August 42 and these included 26 cases of burning police uniforms, 6 cases of arson in canal-revenue-offices, 4 in post offices, 5 of excisable articles and 6 *zamindars' Kutcherys* and 4 PWD bungalows.[5] Post offices, Revenue Offices, *Tehasil* offices and *Dak-bungalows* were attacked and some of them were burnt. Telegraph and telephone links were destroyed in several places.

The Congress *Ashram* at Bari was attached by the Police soon after the commencement of the movement. This Institution which was founded by Gopabandhu Choudhury in 1934 and managed by him from that day, had imparted training to the people on the constructive programme of Gandhiji and became the most prominent centre of the Congress activities in the district. It had aroused sufficient consciousness in the minds of the people of the surrounding locality. Branches of this *Ashram* were opened at Kaipada, Ramachandrapur, Anikana and Sanayasipur. A '*Banara Sena*' (Monkey-Brigade) was also formed for mobilising the masses to undertake revolutionary activities and the highest number of members were enrolled from Krishnanagar village. On 16 August, 42, the people of the area not only attacked and reoccupied the *Ashram*, but also set fire to the properties of the *Ashram* which had been stored in a nearby PWD building by the Police after the seizure. The Government retaliated by taking drastic action and also heavy collective fine was imposed. Many persons including Dusasan Jena, Prahlad Jena etc. were arrested.

Defence Origanisations were formed by the people at different places of the district with a view to protecting the innocent people from Police atrocities. A batch of youngmen of the village Bagalpur in Govindpur Police Station trained themselves in the "*Lathi-play*" in order to fight with the Police in the event of arrest

of the Congress men.[6] The leader of this group was Gouranga Charan Das and his close associates, those who got themselves trained in the martial-art, were Chittaranjan Das, Jagannath Das, Govind Chandra Mohanty, Kalpataru Das, Kamala Charan Das, Indramani Das etc. They were having a close link with the underground organisation at Cuttack.

An Organisation called "*Rakta-Bahini*" (Red-Squad) was formed by the youth of the village Batemura (Govindpur Police Station) with the object of combating the Police. They were also given training as to how to disrupt the communication system like the destruction of roads, the cutting of telegraph links etc. The active members of this organisation were Bibhuti Bhusan Acharya, Baishnab Charan Sengupta, Narayan Sengupta, Rama Chandra Mohapatra, etc.

Another organisation namely "*Marana-Bahini*" (Death-Squad) was organised under the leadership of Nishamani Khuntia in the areas of Tirtol, Ersama, Jagatsinghpur and Govindpur.[7] The object of this organisation was to wage a people's war against the police and the militia and to establish an "*Azad-government*" in the area.

From 14 to 18 August, 1942, Congress revolutionaries resorted to large scale violence.[8] A number of public meetings were organised at different places defying the prohibitory orders and resolutions were passed condemning the activities of the foreign government. The court houses of two '*zamindars*' in the jurisdiction of Barachana Police station were burnt. Uniforms of village "*Choukidars and Daffadars*" were snatched away from them at different places and burnt near the police *thanas*. Small post offices, Revenue bungalows and rest houses were attacked. The agitators cut the embankments of the canals as well as Telegraph and Telephone lines in several places.

Kaipada firing :

In Kaipada area the people were led to action by a few nationalists like Bira Kishore Roy, Haladhar Das, Jayamani Samal, Bichitrananda Sukla, Trilochan Mohanty etc. who spearheaded the movement remaining underground. The Kaipada post-office was attacked and burnt by the people on 17 August, 42.[9] A police contingent under a D.S.P. along with a Magistrate reached there to arrest the persons involved with the incident. On 26 August, the police arrested 15 persons including Indramani Tripathy, Bidyadhar Roy, Dambarudhar Roy, Hrushikesh Roy, Anam Chandra Das and Benudhar Das. As a natural sequence, tension mounted at Kaipada and the people, who were collected in large numbers, demanded the release of the people arrested. A vocal representative of the people, Hadibandhu Panda by name was severely assaulted by the police. Meanwhile, the police force with the arrested persons tried to proceed towards Binjharpur police station. Thousands of people followed them. The crowd became assertive and aggressive, when Annapurna Moharana joined them (who was on her way back from a public meeting at Sanyasipur) at *Kalmatia Chhak*. They tried to overpower the police party and to release the arrested leaders. The police resorted to firing and 4 persons died on the spot and 19 were injured.[10] The people who lost their lives were Saunti Mallick of Srirampur, Sananda Swain of Krishna Nagar, Mayadhar Bhuyan of Hata Sahi and Hadibandhu Panda of Krishna Nagar. Nidhi Samal, Rama Krishna Jena, Supravat Dey and 17 others were injured. After the incident many more were arrested and assaulted by the police. Collective fine to the tune of Rs. 5000/-was realised from the nearby villages. '*Seba House*' Khadi Store and many other houses were demolished at Bari.

In the month of November, 42 a vaccinator was attacked in the village Kissenpur (Binjharpur P/S) and the official papers in his custody were snatched away and burnt.

Jajpur :

Jajpur area also became very sensitive during this period. Leaders like Padmanava Ray, Baidyanath Das, Gopinath Sahu, Duryodhan Mohanty, Santanu Kumar Das etc. mobilised the people. Meetings and processions were carried on. Students boycotted their classes. On 12 August Santanu Kumar Das, Parsuram Das, Purna Chandra Padhi and some students were arrested while picketing before Jajpur High School. A group of students along with two Congress workers entered the hall of the School (Jajpur High School) on 18 August and smashed the glass panels of the almirahs and other furniture.[11] The next day (19 August) a massive procession was carried on in the afternoon to the Court Compound and was dispersed after the intervention of the SDO and the DSP.[12] Also on the same day some students of the JajpurHigh School went in a procession and presented a memorandum to the S.D.O. The leaders of the students were arrested afterwards.

A postal mail-runner was detained by some people near the Jajpur town on 21, August and they snatched away his bag containing Rs.400/- in cash.[13] The mail bags were burnt.

The next day (22 August) the records of the Tahasil Office at Arai (Jajpur) were burnt by the mob.[14]

Post Offices, Canal Revenue Offices, Dak-bungalows and other Government Offices were set on fire at different places in Jajpur area. Many leaders like Jagannath Das, Dwarikanath Das, Gadadhar Dutta, Bipinbihari Mohanty, Sashibhusan Das, Ekadasi Bindhani, Bhagaban Sahu, Madan Mohan Patnaik, Anna Purna Moharana, Man Mohan Choudhury etc. were arrested for their active participation in the movement.

On the night of 24/25-8-42 at about 3 AM in the morning a mob of about 300 persons under the leadership of Padmanav Ray, Bhagaban Sahu,Udekar Mohapatra set fire to the Inspection-

bungalow at Ahias.[15] The thatched roof and the furniture of the bungalow were burnt to ashes.

The Police Beat house at Jaintra and the Government Training School and the Canal Revenue Office at Dasharathpur were set on fire on 25 August. 42.

On 27 August, defying the prohibitory orders of the Government, around 10,000 people coming from the surrounding localities thronged Jajpur town. A mammoth procession was carried on and the office of the civil SDO and the police station were gheraoed. The Congress leaders urged upon the officials to resign from their jobs for the national cause. There were tense moments and the surging crowd showed signs of excitement. Armed Policemen were placed on full alert. Anything could have happened. But fortunately at that time an aeroplane hovered over them at a very low height and dropped tear-gas shells. The people got scared and dispersed from the place. On the same day also a number of government offices and buildings were burnt, notably the Rambagh Post-Office that lay at a distance of four miles away from the town.[16]

According to the Police report, the following cases occurred during the last week of August, 1942 in the Jajpur Sub-Division of the Cuttack district.[17]

1.	Burning of Canal Revenue Offices and PWD bungalows.	10 Cases
2.	Burning of the uniforms of Choukidars	26 Cases
3.	Burning of Post Offices	4 Cases
4.	Burning and looting of Excise shops	5 Cases
5.	Burning of Zamindary Kutcheries	6 Cases
6.	Mail Robbery	1 Case
7.	Dacoity	1 Case
8.	Looting of Granaries	2 Cases

Jagatsinghpur :

Disturbances occurred in Jagatsinghpur and Balikuda area, where people resorted to violent activities and burnt government Institutions like Post-offices, Police-barracks etc.[18] In Jagatsinghpur Police Station, Nrusingha Charan Mohanty, Biswambhar Parida, Jayaram Panda, Lokanath Roy, Nilamani Pradhan, Nityananda Jena, Kanduri Charan Mallick etc. spearheaded the movement against the Imperialist Government. On 17 August, the students of the Jagatsinghpur High School together with some students of the neighbouring schools took out a procession and held a meeting.[19] Two of their leaders and Sricharan Mohanty, who presided over the meeting, were arrested.

It was for conspiracy against the Government and attack on Nalibar military camp on 26 August that Biswambhar Parida, Jayram Panda and Somanath Nayak were arrested. Six other school students along with the Congress workers like Durga Charan Ray, Jadumani Sahu, Agani Sethi etc. were also arrested for anti-British activities.

Among others, Nityananda Jena, Birakishore Ray from Jagatsinghpur and Hare Krushna Biswal, Khetra Mohan Kanungo, Govinda Chandra Das, Gandharb Gochhayat etc. from Balikuda area were arrested during this period for leading the movement.

Govindpur :

In Govindpur, a number of people were taken into custody for their involvement in the Quit-India Movement. They included Muralidhar Kanungo, Balaram Mohanty, Rama Chandra Mohapatra, Bibhutibhusan Acharya, Sarbani Narayan Sengupta, Baishnab Charan Senapati, Krushna Chandra Mohapatra, Kalpataru Das, Indramani Das, Haramani Kanungo etc. Gouranga Charan Das and Govinda Chandra Mohanty were arrested for their underground activities.

Mahanga

Sachidananda Jena was known as "*Mahanga Gandhi*" who inspired his fellow men to carry on struggle for the cause of the motherland. Some government offices at Kuanpal and Balichandrapur were attacked and properties destroyed. On 22 August the records and furniture of the Kuanpal (Mahanga P/S) Post office were burnt.[20] On the same day the records of the Tehesil Office at Balichandrapur were destroyed. On 27 August at Kuanpal, a constable and two *choukidars* were stripped of their uniform which were burnt.[21] Sachidananda Jena and Biraja Prasad Ray, the noted freedom fighters of Mahanga area were arrested.

Barachana

On 21 August, a mob gate-crashed the Gopalpur Inspection Bungalow in Barachana Police Station and destroyed properties. Some *Choukidars* of the same Police Station were attacked and their uniforms were burnt. On 26 August, a crowd under the leadership of Krushna Chandra Rout gathered at Dhanmandal to raid Darpani estate Office and the police station at Barachana.[22] They burnt there the uniforms of the two *Choukidars*. But the District Magistrate and the S.P. of Cuttack with a contingent of Police force followed them and eventually succeeded in arresting five of the leaders. But the most prominent among them Krushna Chandra Rout could manage to escape.

Dharmasala

On 20 August, the Government canal Revenue Office at Dharmasala was burnt. On 22 August, the records in the Revenue Collector's Office at Neulpur (Dharmasala P/S) were burnt down. The movement became violent in Mahanga, Barachana and Dhamasala area under the leadership of Krushna Chandra Rout.

Erasama

The Police Station and a few Government Offices were burnt at Erasama. On 6 September, 42 about 700 people from the nearby villages attacked the Police Station in the morning hours under the leadership of the Congressmen like Gourishym Nayak of Hazipur, Dasa Mallick of Narasinghpur, Mana Samal of Gambarikana, Bulai Sahu of Goda, Bhima Chandra Das of Pandua, Dhaneswar Senapati of Banka-Sahada etc.[23] The Sub-Inspector and the other employees (of the Police-Station) were over-powered by the mob. The door frames and furniture along with the records of the Police Station were burnt down. The Police-barrack situated near-by was set on fire. The hilarious mob kept on chanting anti-British and pro-nationalist slogans and asked the Policemen to resign from their jobs. After the Police Station, the local Post-Office was attacked and the records were destroyed. The excise shops in the locality were looted by the irate mob. The Police registered cases against 78 persons.

On 11 September, a meeting was organised at the village Govindpur (Erasma P/S), which was attended by about 1400 men. It was decided in this meeting, according to official report, that the Police-officials of the area would be killed and that the houses and the *Kutcheries* of the local *Zamindars* would be burnt.[24] Congress workers also moved in the villages of the coastal area inciting the people against the Government. Fishermen were also incited at Kujang to carry on revolutionary activities. Large scale arrests were made in this area and those who were taken into custody included Babaji Bhima Das, Bela Dei, Utshbananda Das, Duryodhan Patnaik etc.

Tirtol

In Tirtol area Nishamani Khuntia, Purna Chandra Lenka, Brundaban Nayak, Somanath Nayak, Baidyanath Nayak, Padma Charan Parija, Kanhu Charan Prusty etc. led the people.

A party consisting of a constable and 3 *Choukidars* of Tirtol Police Station was attacked on 31 August, 42 at about 6. 30 A.M. in the morning while escorting an arrested Congress man Brundaban Nayak of Paidapatna-Tertang, who was to be produced in the Court at Cuttack.[25] About 500 persons of the surrounding villages overpowered the Police at the canal embankment near Balipatna gada and rescued the alleged accused (Brundaban Nayak). The people were led by Golak Bihari Nayak, Gourahari Prusty, Baidyanath Nayak, Duryodhan Nayak, Chanduri Panda, Krushna Sahu, Shrinath Nayak, Kanhu Charan Prusty, Balakrushna Nayak and others.

The canal Revenue Office at Nuapada (Tirtol P/S) was burnt on 3 September '42. During this period also the out houses of the P.W.D. Rest-shed at Jagannath Pur were burnt. On 7 September, the P.W.D Rest-shed, canal Revenue Tehesil Office and the quarters of the Canal Revenue staff were burnt at Sanara (Tirtol P/S). On the charge of destroying government property collective fine was imposed on the people of this area (Sanara).

Under the jurisdiction of Tirtol Police Station those who were arrested during this period included Ghana shyam Nayak, Nath Mohanty., Prana Krushna Rath, Brundaban Nayak, Gourahari Prusty, Somanath Biswal, Maguni Charan Kanungo etc.

Krushna nagar :

Brajamohan Singh from Krushna Nagar was very active during this period and so was arrested. Binod Kanungo and his wife Sashibala Devi who belonged to the village Malipur (Krushna Nagar) helped in the distribution of secret bulletins, pamphlets and instructions issued by the underground organisation from Cuttack.

Salepur

The students of Salepur High School went on strike on 7 August'42. Prominent men like Surendranath Patanaik, Maulana

Attahar, Baman Chandra Parida, Man Mohan Choudhury etc. took the leadership in mobilising the masses and were taken into custody.

Kendrapara

Under the jurisdiction of Kendrapara Police Station, a good number of activists were arrested. They included Raghunath Mohanty, Sachida Nanda Mohanty, Gopinath Mohanty, Dukha Bandhav Mishra, Ghanashyam Mishra, Golak Bihari Das, Rama Chandra Das, Duryodhan Panda etc. For underground activities Lokanath Mishra was taken to custody.

Pattamundei

In Pattamundei area Ghanashyam Mohanty, Hare Krushna Samal, Prahlad Parida etc. spearheaded the movement.

Kanika and Ali

In Kanika Muralidhar Mallick among others took the leadership for mass mobilisation. From Ali, Sahadev Das was arrested during this period.

Cuttack Sadar :

From Cuttack Sadar Police Station, the freedom fighters, those who were arrested, included Sudhir Chandra Ghosh, Bhaskar Prusty, Baikuntha Nath Mohanty, Dola Govinda Pradhan, Purnananda Samal etc.

In their attempt to stem the rising tide of the movement, the Government took a good number of people into custody in the district. On 18 August, 42 the Zilla Board of Cuttack was superseded. Nilamani Pradhan, the Chairman of the Zilla Board and. *Jatiya Kabi* Birakishore Das, the Local Board Chairman of Cuttack Sadar were arrested. Guna Nidhi Mohanty was also taken into custody in Cuttack town.

The *Samaj* Office was subjected to a Police search on 27 September'42 but nothing incriminating was found.[26] Again the Governor of Orissa directed Udaynath Sarangi, the publisher of the paper (*The Samaj*) not to sell or distribute to the people of Koraput the daily and weekly issues of the paper. The order was cancelled in January, 1945. Similarly a security deposit of Rs.500/- was demanded from Gangadhar Rath, the printer and the publisher of the weekly paper *Muktiyuddha* for publishing an article which was considered prejudicial to the defence of India.[27] Thus the papers with nationalist inclinations were subjected to harassment.

Angul

In Angul, on 27 August '42, two Sub Inspectors, one Inspector of Police and one Deputy Collector were assaulted by a mob who resented the arrest of Dibakar Mishra, the prominent Congress leader of the area, on the charge of the making a prejudicial speech.[28] Several Congress workers were arrested on 12 September, 42 when they tried to take possession of the '*Congress Ashram*' then under Police Custody.

Collective fines were imposed at different places of the district on the charge of destroying Government properties and large scale arrests were made. Narayan Prasad Mohanty was arrested on 14 October'42 by Tirtol Police and Nrusingha Charan Mohanty was arrested on 18 October by Krushna Nagar Police for their complicity in the underground movement and they were charged along with Surendranath Dwivedy in the conspiracy case (vide the Special Case No.IC of 1942).

KORAPUT DISTRICT

The district of Koraput which was constituted on the creation of Orissa Province, was a part of the Vizagapatam district till 31 March' 1936. It consisted of four permanently settled estates

(Jeypore, Kotpad Pargana, Salimi Mutha and Pachipenta) and they were held by a single *Zamindar*, the *Maharaja* of Jeypore. Since the area of the district was vast, the administrative set-up of the *Maharaja* was elaborate. As a matter of fact, the district administration depended for its functioning mainly on the administrative machinery of the *Zamindary*.[29] This practice gave a very great prestige to the *Maharaja* and his employees, and the common people found it difficult to raise their voice against the prevalent mal-administration.[30]

The innocent tribal population of Koraput were by nature freedom loving and did not like the idea of subjugation. The sporadic incident of violence against the mal-administration and repression of the authorities were used to be crushed by the combined efforts of the British and the local Chief. But with the dawn of the Gandhian era, Koraput did not remain isolated and the local Congress leaders came forward to bring the district into the vortex of national movement.

The message of the *August Revolution* had percolated deep into the core of Koraput district. The gullible tribal folks were incited to rise against the authorities. The movement started by the people's refusal to pay "*one-pice-tax*" on head-load of articles and very soon took the shape of mob-fury against the British-Raj. The Congress Organisation was so strong and well-knit in the district that despite the arrest of the top-ranking leaders like Radha Krushna Biswas Roy, Radha Mohan Sahu and Sadasiba Tripathy, the agitational programme did not suffer any set-back. The movement was launched on 13 August, 42, when two young boys at Jeypore carrying Congress flags read a message aloud supposed to have been received fromGandhiji.[31] It was presumed to be the same message of Gandhiji (contained in a cyclostyled leaflet) which was sent by Surendra Nath Dwivedy from Bombay. The people got

inspired by the message and decided not to rest till the release of Gandhiji from jail. *Hartals*, picketings and acts of violence including arson, looting, rioting and sabotage were carried on in the district.

On 14 August'1942 about 70 people asked the shopkeepers in Kundili '*Shandy*' (market place) to close down their shops.[32] When the police intervened, all of them expressed the desire to court arrest. Finally 9 of them were taken into custody and others were dispersed.

On 15 August, 42 a mob caused considerable damage to the arrack shop and a wholesale depot at Nandapur.[33] It was found that majority of them were ignorant and illiterate hill-tribals who were firmly convinced that the British regime had been terminated and expressed pleasure at the prospect of being sent to jail. Fifteen of them were detained by the Police. Also the people burnt several shops at Pukkili *Shandy* in Pottangi *taluk*.

When two persons were arrested at Pottangi on 16 August'42 for delivering anti-government speeches, the local people got flared-up and gathered in a challenging mood.[34] The assembly of about 1,000 people was declared unlawful and only dispersed after a *lathi-charge*. On the same evening a mob of about 2,000 persons became violent and blockaded the Jeypore Police-Station.[35] Of course the mob was later dispersed by the armed Police. On 16 August'42 large number of people participated in demonstration at different *Shandies* (market places) of the district and the speakers in their oration poured venoms against the alien government.[36]

On 17 August about 200 agitators armed with cudgels assembled near the Sembiliguda rest-shed of Jeypore and were subsequently cleared by the Police.[37] Telegraph link between Jeypore and Nawarangpur was destroyed. Picketings and squattings were carried on in front of the excise-shops, schools, courts and other government Institutions in Gunpur area and large

scale arrests were made as a consequence. On 17 August a large crowd attempted to capture the Dasamanthpur Police Station on the alleged plea that the British rule had come to an end and that the Indians had attained the *Swaraj*.[38] Eight persons were arrested in the incident. The same drama was enacted at Lakhmipur Police Station when the records were burnt by the crowd. On 19 August, protest-demonstrations were carried on at Guneipadu *shandy* and on the next day at Padwa *shandy*. Some people were taken into custody as they attempted to attack the Police Stations and the arrack-shops. In certain areas of the district the irate mob demolished portions of the reserve forest and a bridge lying on the Ampani *ghat* near Koraput-Kalahandi border.[39]

Lakshmana Naik and Mathili firing

Lakshmana Naik was born in the village Tentuliguma of Malkangiri *Taluk* and Boipariguda Police Station in the year 1899 (November, 22) in a Bhumia family. His father, Padlam Naik, was the headman of the village. Though Lakshman had not received any formal education, he had some rudiments of schooling in his childhood. He was amiable, patient, upright, and was endowed with the qualities of a good leader. After his father's death he was made the village headman.

Lakshman accepted the Congress creed being influenced by the Congress leaders of the district like Radha Krushna Biswas Roy, Radhamohan Sahu and Sadasiba Tripathy. He became a disciplined member of the Congress, gave up hunting as a measure of non-violence and became a complete vegetarian. He introduced cotton-growing in the locality and started spinning of *Khadi*. He injected the Congress ideology and the spirit of freedom into the minds of the people and soon gathered a number of followers who became the agents of Congress-mobilisation in the area. He was made the President of the Tentuliguma primary Congress

committee and subsequently a member of the Koraput D.C.C. His elitist background coupled with the sense of service and dedication made him a natural leader among his fellow-men. He had the guts to lead the people against the exploitation and extortion of the masses by the unscrupulous officials, moneylenders, and other agencies of oppression. He was successful in inculcating in the innocent tribal population a sense of revolt against the imperialist-administration.

In 1936, he was arrested for the first time for launching a no-tax campaign in Mathili. In 1940-41, again he courted arrest for offering individual *Satyagraha*. When the Congress gave a call to boycott the war-preparations of the British, Lakshman took the leadership in his area.

As a sequel to the *Quit-India* resolution, the prominent Congress leaders in the district were put behind the bar by 12 August 1942. The Congress organisation was declared unlawful throughout the country. The Congress office atJeypore was seized. Some others who escaped arrest managed to continue the movement. Lakshaman was not arrested and he organised the movement in Mathili area where the system of communication was very poor. The condition became still worse because of the advent of the rainy season. Lakshman was supported by his friend Balaram Pujari, a teacher and could mobilise a force of about 200 strong men armed with cudgels and *lathis*.[40] They carried Congress flags and marched through dense forests destroying liquor shops at Kongrabeda, Kuntipalli and Chandra-beda.[41]

On 16 August, 1942, a large crowd marched to Jeypore from different directions and Lakshman participated in it.[42] But they were strongly dealt with by the authorities and ruthlessly suppressed. After this incident a warrant of arrest was issued

against Lakshman Naik and being advised by his friends he absconded.[43] He sneaked into the forest and reached Ghumar, the native village of his friend Nilo Patro. They together decided to organise a march to Mathili on 21 August. 1942.[44] The authorities could come to know about this march to Mathili which was considered highly explosive because of the presence of the ferocious Bonda highlanders and they (authorities) grew panicky. During the process of mobilisation Lakshman had incited the people not to pay plough-tax, road-tax, *shandy*-tax, and other obnoxious impositions. His family members were harassed in various ways by the government agencies; yet that did not deter him from organising the masses against the imperialist administration.

On 21 August 1942 a large crowd of about 2000 people under the leadership of Lakshman Naik congregated at Mathili where they held a public meeting at the weekly market place (*shandy*) about half a mile from the police station.[45] Lakshman presided over the meeting. He exhorted the people to establish *peoples Raj and not to cooperate with the British government.*[46] The crowd then marched towards the Police-station singing '*Ramdhun*' and chanting slogans in favour of the Congress and Gandhiji. Their aim was to unfurl the Congress tri-colour over the police station.[47] When the crowd reached in front of the police station they were lathicharged and subsequently firing was ordered. Lakshman was hit by a police bayonet on his face and lay unconscious in a small drain in front of the police station.[48] In the process large number of people (about 100) were wounded, many were speared and bayoneted and six persons died on the spot.[49] when the crowd dispersed it was found that a forest guard Ramaiya was lying dead in the drain. Lakshman and other wounded persons were taken away by the people to a nearby forest and were treated. It is widely believed that large number of dead bodies were burnt by the police

in an orchard near the police station.[50] After the firing which took place around mid-day the crowd dispersed in panic and this incident at Mathili proved to be a turning point in the history of the freedom struggle in Koraput.

In a swoop on 28 August 42, large contingents of police personnel arrested hundreds of persons from different villages who were either the members of the Congress or its sympathisers. A reign of terror was unleashed. Lakshman's house was besieged and his family members were arrested. He was then taken to Mathili Police Station and was declared *persona-non-grata* by the administration. He and his associates were charged with murder of the forest guard, Ramaiya. It was alleged that the mob was incited by Lakshman to loot the shops, burn the houses and properties, destroy the Police-Station and kill the government officials. He was alleged to have killed Ramaiya, the forest-guard by giving a severe blow on his head by a steel *'lathi'* The charges were no doubt, fabricated and concocted. In fact, the forest guard was an opium-addict and he was seen beating the crowd at Mathili beyond the fence of the Police-station.[51] When firing started from different directions, most probably Ramaiya was hit by a bullet and fell in the drain.[52] Because by then Lakshman was already lying unconscious after receiving a bayonet-injury in the same drain in front of the Police station. So the charges against Lakshman seemed to be unfounded and baseless.

All those arrested were tortured and kept outside during the rains at the Police-station. After some days of torture at Mathili, all of them including some who had bullet injuries were ordered to march to Jeypore on foot, a distance of about forty miles. Lakshman protested to walk the distance and when all pressure proved futile, a police vehicle was deployed to transport the arrested persons to

Koraput. The Police submitted a chargesheet (case no.58/2942 of Mathili PS) against Lakshman and 53 others on the charge of murder, arson, loot etc. The case was tried by the Addl. Sessions Judge in a special court at Koraput. (V.Ramnathan, I.C.S. tried the case who subsequently became member, Board of Revenue, Orissa). A mock-trial by fake witnesses was conducted speedily. Four persons were acquitted, 18 were convicted to lesser terms, 30 were sentenced to life-imprisonment, and Lakshman was awarded death-sentence. He was transferred to Berhampur Central Jail where other Congress leaders were detained. He was kept confined in cell No. 14 of the Jail from 16 November, 1942 and was executed on the morning of 29 March, 43.

Though the date of the execution was kept a secret, everybody in the jail could come to know about it on the day before.[53] All the inmates in the jail observed fast on the day of the supreme sacrifice and in the evening, a prayer meeting was organised in the jail premises. He accepted martyrdom so that millions of his fellow countrymen could see the light of freedom. He became a symbol of sacrifice for the cause of the people.

Papadahandi incident

On 24 August, a large procession of about four or five thousand people armed with dangerous weapons proceeded with a view to destroying the police stations in Nawarangpur circle.[54] The leaders who led the procession, were Jagannath Tripathy, Simachal Behera, S.P. Sharaff, Laxman Chandra Das etc. As soon as the procession reached the bridge on the Papadahandi river, then flooded, a police party obstructed the people and resorted to *lathi*-charge and firing. It was six miles away from Nawarangpur. The road was narrow on either side and fields were inundated by flood water. A large number of people jumped into the overflowing river to swim across for safety. As a result of this attack, 19 persons

were killed and about 100 were injured while 140 were put under arrest.[55]

The Government took drastic repressive measures to quell the movement in the district. The Congress office (of the district) with all its movable properties were attached. All muzzle loading gun holders were asked to surrender temporarily their guns to the Police, *Flag-marches* were conducted by the Police force to generate a fear-psychosis among the people and hundreds of people were arrested. The Koraput jail which was to accommodate 250 persons at the most was crowded with 700 to 800 persons.[56] The total figure of casualties in the district during the movement was as follows:-[57] 25 persons died in firing, 2 persons including a boy of 4 years died in *lathi*-charge, 50 died inside the jail and 32 persons were to undergo transportation for life. These persons were, however, released on 23 April 1946, when the Congress ministry assumed office in Orissa. Besides this, the courts imposed fines amounting to Rs. 11,200/-, out of which Rs. 9, 371/- was realised.[58] This indicates the magnitude of the movement in Koraput district.

PURI DISTRICT

In the district of Puri, as else where in the province, the prominent Congress leaders were arrested soon after the beginning of the movement. Students in the schools and the Sanskrit College at Puri town and at Nimapara, Khurda, Olsingh and Banpur went on strike and violated the prohibitory orders of the Government. At different places telephone links were cut and picketings were carried on before the educational institutions and Government offices. One Sub-Inspector of Police was injured during the period of the agitation at Puri Town. Notices under section 30 of

the Police Act were promulgated at Puri, Khurda and Jatani requiring licenses for taking out processions or holding meetings in those places.[59]

On 9 August, 42 the prominent Congress leaders of the district like Lokanath Mishra, Satyabadi Nanda, Pandit Krupasindhu Hota etc. were arrested. The Congress offices at different places in the district were seized. Subsequently, Acharya Harihar Dash, Purnananda Swain, Pandit Lingraj Mishra, Patitapaban Hota, Gulam Mustafa Khan, Padma Charan Mohapatra etc. were taken into custody. On 12 August, Gati Krushna Swain of Kakatpur was arrested at Puri town while going to attend the Zilla Board meeting. On that day also Banamali Patnaik, the Secretary of the DCC, Puri was arrested.

On 13 August a meeting was organised at Puri Town and from that place Jagannath Narayan Brahamachari, Gopinath Narayan Brahmachari (the two inmates of '*Suno Goswami Math*' of Gaudabada Sahi), Ramakrishna Nanda and Udayanath Khuntia were arrested. On that day Prananath Patanaik was taken into custody from Jatani and his residence was sealed.

On 14 August at Sakhigopal, Krushna Chandra Rath and Sarat Chandra Mohapatra were arrested for taking active part in an anti-Government meeting.

On 15 August, Gouranga Charan Senapati, a student of Class-IX of Nimapara Jubilee High School was taken into custody for inciting the students to boycott the classes. On 20 August, most of the students of Khurda High School boycotted their classes in protest. On that day also in a meeting held at Ghoradia '*Hat*' near Delang three women leaders namely Sunamani Devi, Ushamani Devi, and Uma Sundari Devi besides Basudev Gajendra delivered anti-government speeches defying the prohibitory orders.

On 20 August, Rama Chandra Gochhikar and Chandra Sekhar Mohapatra of Puri-town were arrested for leading the students in

a procession. On 30 August the Congress workers like Fakir Sahu of Chandanpur and Raghunath Mishra of Bira Pratap pur were taken into custody.

In Gop area, the Congress leaders, namely, Kulamani Das and Rama Chandra Sahu were arrested. A '*Banara Sena*' (Monkey Brigade) was formed under the leadership of Gourishyam Samantray (Godarupas Village) and Narendra Patra. A number of incidents like burning of Police-uniforms, attack on Police stations etc. were carried on in this area. Two prominent student leaders of the area, Upendra Mohanty and Nrusingha Tripathy were also taken into custody for their active participation in the movement.

The residence of Bhagabati Charan Panigrahi in Puri town provided a veritable abode to the young revolutionaries who used to flock there secretly for deciding the course of action. Another place in the town was the '*Mangu Matha*', where a rebel absconder from Bengal, Stayendranath Guha by name, used to impart training on the techniques of armed rebellion. The young students like Jaya Krishna Mohanty, Jadumani Jena, Krushna Chandra Rath, Natha Pradhan, Dhruba Charan Mohanty, Govind Tripathy, Banamali Patnaik, Upendra Mohanty, Mukunda Mishra, Chandra Sekhar Nayak, Bhagabati Charan Chand, Bipin Bihari Patanaik, Nityananda Mohanty, Nityananda Mishra, Brajmohan Pani etc. were the regular visitors to that place (*Mangu Math*). They were all taken into custody at different places.

Bhubaneswar, then a small town of pilgrimage was also not free from the tremors of the *Quit-India movement*. A group of juvenile revolutionaries of B.M. High School, namely, Kanhu Charan Patanaik, Gangadhar Patanaik, Brundaban Jena, Udayanath Das, Nilakantha Mishra etc. were mobilised to action by a local Congress leader, Raghunath Mohapatra. In a bid to disrupt the train communication, they cut the telephone wire (of the Railway

Department) in the Bhim Tangi area. But they could not sustain for a longer period and were all arrested on 16 August.

Nimapara Firing

Nimapara was the only place in the district where one person attained martyrdom during the course of the movement. The people of the area were politically very conscious and they were mobilised successfully to fight against the *Zamindary* exploitation. The popular response to the nationalist challenge at different stages, was profound. Mohan Dash, a product of *Satyabadi* tradition (a student of *Styabadi Vidyalaya*) was the real King-pin of the mass mobilisation in that area. But he was put behind the bars along with other leaders during the *Quit India movement*. And so no front-ranking leaders were available to guide the younger elements.

Manijang (an old *Paikali* village), Hansapada (a village where a *Congress Ashram* was established) and a few other villages like Chanara Pada were caught in the nationalist frenzy during this period. The wife of the *Zamindar* of Manijang, Sulakshna Mali Jema, popularly known in the area as '*Sanantani*' was favourably disposed towards the nationalist movement. She herself was not a member of the Congress, but she used to give shelter to Congressmen in her house to evade arrest and at times offered generous financial assistance. She was the source of inspiration to her eldest son, Padma Charan Samanta Singhar for the nationalist cause. It was at her instance a secret meeting was organised at Hansapada *Congress-Ashram* to decide the course of action. There was a divided opinion among the Congressmen as to the nature of the movement. The younger elements citing the examples of other places of India insisted on paralysing the administration at Nimapara.

A group of dedicated students and young persons like Padma Charan Samanta Singhar, Lokanath Senapati, Upendra Mohanty,

Baikuntha Senapati, Bhabani Charan Patnaik, Kunja Bihari Senapati, Purna Chandra Sahu, Alekh Patra, Maheswar Mohanty, Bhubanananda Mohanty, Madhabananda Mishra etc. took the leading part in mobilising the people during the course of the Quit-India movement. A public meeting was convened at Nimapara (Barabati field) on 16 September, 42. That was a market-day and naturally many people congregated. The villagers of the surrounding area, those who attended the meeting resolved not to pay taxes to the government and appealed the government servants including the police to resign from their jobs. When the meeting was going on some people set fire on the Inspection-bungalow and cut the telephone line so as to disrupt the communication.After the meeting around 500 people proceeded towards the Police-Station chanting different slogans and tried to gate-crash, with the intention of hoisting the tri-colour flag over the Police-Station. Naturally, they were prevented from doing so and scuffles broke out between the Police and the demonstrators. As the situation became very tense, the Police had to open fire. Uchhab Mallick, a poor *Harijan* of the village Dihabari was shot dead and 16 others were injured.[60] As many as 44 Congressmen were arrested including Padma Charan samanta Singhar, Bhabani Charan Patanaik, Pitabas Sahu, Baikuntha Senapati, Kunja Bihari Senapati, Bhubanananda Mohanty, Somanath Panda, Sana Mallick, Fakir Charan Swain, Chaitanya Rout, Parasu Swain, Narottam Sethi, Narahari Sahu, Jadumani Parida, Jadab Biswal, Gangadhar Patanaik, Dinabandhu Bhuti, etc. Thereafter the crowd dispersed. A Police case was registered against 16 Congressmen accusing them of the charge of instigating the public to burn Police Stations , to cut telegraph wires etc.[61] The Government imposed a collective fine to the tune of Rs. 1500/- on the villagers of Manijang, Chanarapada, and Hansapada who had taken active part in the agitation at Nimapara.[62]

Relation with underground organisation

Biswanath Parida, a member of the District Board was in close contact with the underground out-fit operated from Cuttack. He used to send bulletins, leaf-lets and other instructions to different parts of the District exhorting the people to resort to acts of violence and sabotage. Biswanath and other leaders used to congregate at *Nua-Math* secretly to decide the course of action. Others who worked in close cooperation with him were Sridhar Rath, Jadumani Jena, Sarbeswar Das, Gouranga Charan Routray, Radhashayam Baral, Fagu Barik, Mukunda Mal etc. In the second half of September, 42, Biswanath fell ill and it became difficult for him to work evading the Police surveillance. He finally decided to court arrest and on 26 September in a dramatic manner he lay down in the *verandah* of *Puri-thana* when he was arrested. He himself along with Jadumani Jena were implicated in the famous Orissa Conspiracy case and finally the former was sentenced to 4 years rigorous imprisonment and the latter was acquitted.

Among others those who were arrested from the district during this period included Bhagaban Pratihari, Fakira Charan Mishra, Harihar Puja Panda, Rama Prasad Mohanty, Madhusudan Nanda, Brajasundar Das, Brajmohan Pani, Janardan Mishra, Gaurishyam Samantray, Gaura Mohan Chatterjee, Iswar Chandra Mishra, Sadhu Charan Mohanty etc.

SAMBALPUR DISTRICT

The district of Sambalpur did never lag behind in responding to the nationalist challenge. During the period of the *Quit-India movement*, the unrest was wide-spread not only in the urban centres like Sambalpur town, Bargarh and Jharsuguda but also in the remote villages. Pandit Laxmi Narayan Mishra and Prahald Ray Lath, the noted freedom fighters, who had gone to Bombay to

attend the AICC meeting, were taken into custody on their way back to Sambalpur. *Haratalas* were organised at Sambalpur and Jharsuguda in protest against the arrest of the Congress leaders in the country.[63] Students as usual and the youth of the district took active part in the movement and organised strikes and mass demonstrations. Pamphlets and leaflets inciting the people to resort to violence were found to have been circulated in the district.

On 18 August, the students of Sambalpur Zilla School observed *haratal*, despite the prohibitory orders of the Government. Sambalpur town was then kept under heavy police surveillance because of the shifting of some of the important departments of the Secretariat from Cuttack to that place as a precautionary war time measure. On 19 August, Nrusingha Guru, Durga Prasad Guru, Dayanidhi Satapathy Laxmi Narayan Agarwal, Ramarakshya Sukla etc. were taken into custody. But the Police could not establish charges against them. On protest Ramarakshya Sukla resigned from the membership of the Sambalpur Municipality. On 21 August Judhisthira Meher, Premananda Meher, Ananda Meher, Radhashyam Meher, Pabitra Das, etc. led a procession to the court and asked the Revenue Officer and the S.D.O. to resign. As a result, they were arrested under Defence of India Act.

Large number of Congressmen from Baragarh including Fakir Behera, a member of the Orissa Legislative Assembly, Ghanashayam Panigrahi, Advocate Rajendra Panda, Tirthabasi Purohit etc. were arrested in September, 42 and brought to Sambalpur jail. A group of young men at Baragarh undertook regular drill exercise and had training of using *lathis* and other weapons. Parbati Giri of the village Samblaipadar (Baragarh Sub-division) took prominent part in the movement in Bargarh area. She was instrumental in getting the women involved in the struggle. She led a procession of women at Pradhan pada and also organised a meeting at Hatapada. From her very childhood, she had developed

an anti-colonial and nationalistic outlook and was intensely averse to the evil practice of casteism in the society. When she was only twelve years old (born in 1926), she went to Bari *Ashrama* and spent there two years. She got herself trained in the constructive programme of Gandhiji and was actively associated with the *Charakha* movement. During the *Quit-India movement* she herself, along with Dayalal Joshi, Biranchi Pradhan, Purna Giri etc. led a procession and over-powered the S.D.O at Baragarh. She also exhorted the government servants to give up their jobs. Banned leaflets pamphlets including the copy of the *Bombay-Resolution* were secretly distributed by her. Picketings before the liquor shops and anti-Imperialist demonstrations were carried on under her leadership, which led to her imprisonment. Few other leaders like Rama Chandra Puri, Dwadasi Rana, Ujjal Puri, Santosh Swain, Kuber Giri, Mangal Giri etc. from the village Samblaipadar were also taken into custody.

Another woman leader of the same area (Baragarh), Prabhabati Devi of village Naikpada was also an activist who was put behind the bars. She had spent sometime in the *Ashram* at Bari too.

There was yet another lady Jambubati Devi who happened to be the wife of the noted freedom-fighter, Bhagirathi Patanaik of Barapalli. She was arrested along with her associate Prema Devi on 17 August, 42 while leading a procession of students from Ghormara Training school to Tumuka in Bihar. Her husband Bhagirathi Patanaik was arrested on 25 August and son, Prafulla Kumar Patanaik was taken into custody on 6 November, 42 for their nationalist activities.

A particular village Panimora in the district was very active during this period. Bhagirathi Patanaik was instrumental in mobilising the villagers who spearheaded the movement at different places. Many of them were arrested in the process. Some of the

attend the AICC meeting, were taken into custody on their way back to Sambalpur. *Haratalas* were organised at Sambalpur and Jharsuguda in protest against the arrest of the Congress leaders in the country.[63] Students as usual and the youth of the district took active part in the movement and organised strikes and mass demonstrations. Pamphlets and leaflets inciting the people to resort to violence were found to have been circulated in the district.

On 18 August, the students of Sambalpur Zilla School observed *haratal*, despite the prohibitory orders of the Government. Sambalpur town was then kept under heavy police surveillance because of the shifting of some of the important departments of the Secretariat from Cuttack to that place as a precautionary war time measure. On 19 August, Nrusingha Guru, Durga Prasad Guru, Dayanidhi Satapathy Laxmi Narayan Agarwal, Ramarakshya Sukla etc. were taken into custody. But the Police could not establish charges against them. On protest Ramarakshya Sukla resigned from the membership of the Sambalpur Municipality. On 21 August Judhisthira Meher, Premananda Meher, Ananda Meher, Radhashyam Meher, Pabitra Das, etc. led a procession to the court and asked the Revenue Officer and the S.D.O. to resign. As a result, they were arrested under Defence of India Act.

Large number of Congressmen from Baragarh including Fakir Behera, a member of the Orissa Legislative Assembly, Ghanashayam Panigrahi, Advocate Rajendra Panda, Tirthabasi Purohit etc. were arrested in September, 42 and brought to Sambalpur jail. A group of young men at Baragarh undertook regular drill exercise and had training of using *lathis* and other weapons. Parbati Giri of the village Samblaipadar (Baragarh Sub-division) took prominent part in the movement in Bargarh area. She was instrumental in getting the women involved in the struggle. She led a procession of women at Pradhan pada and also organised a meeting at Hatapada. From her very childhood, she had developed

an anti-colonial and nationalistic outlook and was intensely averse to the evil practice of casteism in the society. When she was only twelve years old (born in 1926), she went to Bari *Ashrama* and spent there two years. She got herself trained in the constructive programme of Gandhiji and was actively associated with the *Charakha* movement. During the *Quit-India movement* she herself, along with Dayalal Joshi, Biranchi Pradhan, Purna Giri etc. led a procession and over-powered the S.D.O at Baragarh. She also exhorted the government servants to give up their jobs. Banned leaflets pamphlets including the copy of the *Bombay-Resolution* were secretly distributed by her. Picketings before the liquor shops and anti-Imperialist demonstrations were carried on under her leadership, which led to her imprisonment. Few other leaders like Rama Chandra Puri, Dwadasi Rana, Ujjal Puri, Santosh Swain, Kuber Giri, Mangal Giri etc. from the village Samblaipadar were also taken into custody.

Another woman leader of the same area (Baragarh), Prabhabati Devi of village Naikpada was also an activist who was put behind the bars. She had spent sometime in the *Ashram* at Bari too.

There was yet another lady Jambubati Devi who happened to be the wife of the noted freedom-fighter, Bhagirathi Patanaik of Barapalli. She was arrested along with her associate Prema Devi on 17 August, 42 while leading a procession of students from Ghormara Training school to Tumuka in Bihar. Her husband Bhagirathi Patanaik was arrested on 25 August and son, Prafulla Kumar Patanaik was taken into custody on 6 November, 42 for their nationalist activities.

A particular village Panimora in the district was very active during this period. Bhagirathi Patanaik was instrumental in mobilising the villagers who spearheaded the movement at different places. Many of them were arrested in the process. Some of the

activists were Sribatsha Nayak, Madan Mohan Pradhan, Dibya Kishore Sahu, Abhimanyu Bhoi, Gokul Chandra Nayak, Shyam Sundar Sahu, Jitendra Pradhan, Dhanu Sahu, Minaketan Saraf, Purna Chandra Pradhan, Raghab Charan Parida, Yasobant Bhoi, Dhananjay Pradhan, Chaitanya Saraf, Dayanidhi Nayak, Shankar Pradhan, Suka Saran Bhoi, Chamaru Parida, Dhansingh Pradhan, Chandrabhanu Parida, Pravakar Sahu, Dasarathi Nayak, Harihar Bhoi, Rushi Saraf, Madan Bhoi, Kanailal Sahu, Pravakar Pradhan, Radhika Devi etc.

A leading personality, Ghanashyam Panigrahi of village Manpur who was widely respected for his dedicated social service was also taken into custody during this period. Another prominent person, Krutartha Acharya, was very much involved in the movement. He worked in close cooperation with the noted freedom fighters like Dayanadhi Satapathy, Bhagirathi Patanaik, and Ghanashyam Panigrahi.

On 18 August, 42 the students of Jharsuguda observed *hartal* and led a procession in the town condemning the British Government for the arrest of the leaders. The next day (19 August) a mammoth public meeting was held at Jharsuguda town and the speakers blasted the Imperialist-administration. Persons like Bihari Ram Tanti, Sukadev Prasad etc. were arrested for their active participation in the movement.

Quite a good number of persons were taken into custody in the district for their active involvement in the *Quit India movement*. Among others Ugrasena Banchhor and Dayanidhi Mishra of the village Tamari, Bisweswar Das of Tarakona, Kunjabihari Das of Gudesira, Mayadhar Satapathy and Pareswar Sahu of Bodasambar, Mangalu Pradhan, Laxman Biswal, Bali Sahu, Surgi Sahu, Bhalu Parmukh and Jogendra Dora of Remanda etc. were arrested.

The underground organisation of Surendra Nath Dwivedy had been able to establish its secret nexus with the district and Bhairab Chandra Mohanty was the linkman. He was an employee of the Education Department, who tendered his resignation from the service for the nationalist cause. He preferred to work there at Sambalpur. Along with Sibanarayan Padhi he became the source of inspiration to the nationalists there. Finally he was arrested on 7 December,42 (at Sambalpur) and charged along with others in Orissa conspiracy case.

GANJAM DISTRICT

The district was not free from the tremors of the *Quit-India movement*. Demonstrations and picketings were carried on infront of the government offices and other Institutions. Prohibitory orders of the government were violated. It was comparatively easy for the people in this district to burn the offices and other Institutions to ashes as most of them were thatched houses.As usual, also the communication links (such as telegraph lines) were destroyed at different places.

On 9 August, 1942 Uma Charan Patanaik along with other prominent leaders of Orissa, was arrested. The Political Institutions like *Gurandi Seva Shram, Kulado Ashram* and the office of the Ganjam District Congress Committee were seized by the Police. On 10 August some young boys carried on picketing at the main-entrance of the Head Post Office of Berhampur and stalled the functioning of the same for some time. Subsequently, the Police Physically lifted the juvenile pickets.

On 11 August the students of Aska High School skipped their classes and went round the streets in a procession condemning the arrest of the nationalist leaders. As many as four Congress workers were arrested there for attempting to prevent the students from attending the school.[64]

On 14 August the students of MKCG College, Parlakhemundi, boycotted their classes and a *hartal* was observed in the town. The students along with some local persons moved in a procession raising different anti-government slogans. On 15 August, the Secretary of the District Peasants' Association, Narayan Patra was arrested at Gurandi and taken to Parlakhemundi. Some local people set fire to a thatched Government bungalow there.

The people of Chhatrapada, Keruna, Kantapani, Chrakpada, Bosaltangi etc. observed *hartal* in protest against the arrest of the leaders. On 15 August, in a public meeting at Chhatrapada, the government came under severe castigation for the repressive measures.

On 18 August, a total *bandh* was observed at Russelkonda and people went round in a procession shouting anti-government slogans.

On 30 August, some inmates of *Kulado-Ashram*, namely, Mahadev Panda, Harihar Pati, Khali Sahu, Gopinath Sahu, Appa Rao, Jerki Dakua, Phula Dei etc. were taken into custody.

It was in the first fortnight of September, Ghumsur *Taluk* witnessed certain untoward incidents as the people illegally felled trees from the Reserve forest.[65]

Some young students of Purosottampur High School like Ram Mohan Jena and others were arrested on the charge of a conspiracy to set fire to Gurandi Police-Station. The students were deeply influenced by their Head-master Kalia Panigrahi, who was a nationalist to the core.

At Aska, a training camp was opened by Satrughna Behera and Maguni Das, who imparted instructions as to how to undertake subversive activities. The trainees of this camp destroyed the communication link by cutting telegraph wires (between Aska and Nalaganta) for which the Punitive tax was collected from the neighbouring villages.

It was during the first half of October' 42 Congress leaflets were circulated secretly at Berhampur.[66] The Post-master of the Head Post Office received threatening letters about the burning of the Post office. Some Congress volunteers picketted in front of the arrack shops. Demonstrations in front of the government offices were organised and processions were taken out with the shouting of anti-government slogans.

At Jagannath Prasad, people under the leadership of Ladukesh Kar, Rama Chandra Nayak, Kshetrabasi Pradhan, Satrughna Behera, Maguni Das etc. illegally felled trees from the Panchabhuti reserve-forest. In a bid to disrupt the communication, a plan was hatched out to demolish the bridge over the Rusikulya river. An activist Maguni Das procured dynamite secretly for the purpose. But before the plan could be effected the leaders of the proposed subversive act like Maguni Das, Krishna Chandra Satapathy, Dr. R. Ram Murthy, Lalmohan Patra, Satrughna Behera, Raghunath Panda, Rama Chandra Behera, Narasingha Panda etc. were taken into custody.

During the period of the *Quit India movement* many prominent persons of the District like Maguni Das, Harihar Das, Ghanashyam Patanaik, Nanda Kishore Pradhan, Krishnamurty Patra and others tried to mobilise the masses for valiant actions. But in the bid to thwart the movement, the government arrested a number of leaders namely, Apanna Patra, A. Laxmi Bai, Banchhanidhi Patanaik, Bijya Chandra Das, Bhagirathi Mishra, Bhikari Dalai, Biswanath Das, Balaram Panda, Bagga Apanna, Banamali Moharana, Champa Devi, C. Venkat Rao, Narasingha Patra, Uma Charan Patnaik, Dibakar Patnaik, Ganapati Raula, Dinabandhu Behera, Ghanashyam Patnaik, Govind Pradhan, Gopal Chandra Das, Sundar Babu Prusty, Harihar Das, Jagannath Mishra, Jugal Kishore Panigrahi, Sridhar Rath, K. Simadri, Laxmi Narayan Panigrahi, Banchhanidhi Gauda, Mohan Nayak, Mahendra Patanaik, Maguni Das, Biswambhar Behera,

Niranjan Patnaik, Nilakantha Sahu, Narasingha Panda, Sudhakar Mohapatra, Pratap Chandra Patanaik, Labanya Das, Ram Mohan Jena, Sriharsha Mishra, Master Sanaya, Bauribandhu Rath, Satrughana Behera, Sobha Devi, Trinath Choudhury, Shyma Sundar Patra, V. Sitaramaya, Sila Sankar Narayan, Gopal Krushna Pathy etc.

Ghanashyam Patnaik who was the secretary of the District Congress Committee (then banned) was in close touch with the underground organisation at Cuttack. He used to receive leaf-lets, bulletins and instructions during this period for the intensification of the movement. Finally a letter from him to Surendra Nath Dwivedy was intercepted by the police at Cuttack. He was arrested and charged with others in the Orissa Conspiracy Case.

During the first half of November, the Political prisoners who were kept confined within the Berhampur Jail, were reported to have set fire to a thatched shed inside the jail premises.[67] A few prisoners (including some political prisoners) made their escape from the jail in the same month taking advantage of the collapse of a portion of the outer-wall (of the jail) because of a cyclone. Some of them were rearrested. Police resorted to *lathi* charge to disperse a group of political prisoners in the sub-jail at Russelkonda when they attempted to assault the jail officials in November.

BALASORE DISTRICT

Balasore enjoyed the pride of place in the whole of Orissa because of the gallant popular response to the nationalist challengc during the period of the *August Revolution*. There was unprecedented mass-participation in the movement and the people displayed exemplary courage and tenacity in braving the official machinery of terror and repression. Many attained martyrdom in the process.

In the early part of 1942 Bengal was badly hit by famine. Large number of people from Midnapore District poured into neighbouring Balasore for their sustenance. As a result, there was acute scarcity of food. War-time economic problems like shooting up of prices, scarcity of essential commodities and the introduction of the harassing system of *control* in public distribution etc. hit the common people hard. They were thoroughly disgusted. There was no doubt that the Congress played freely upon their economic difficulties in fomenting discontent. The masses were roused into action and indulged in violent activities against the government.

The people violated the laws of the Government, organised *hartals*, carried on picketings in front of the Government Offices and Courts, set-fire to the *Dak-bungalows*, Post-Offices and Police Stations, destroyed telegraph links, and stopped payment of rents and taxes in some places. The Police were assaulted and the people refused to render assistance to the government servants at many places.They were not prepared to tolerate the British Government any more. In rural areas, the *Chowkidar* was the visible representative of the paramount power and the people invariably snatched away his official uniform and used to harass him in order to exhibit their disregard and disloyalty to the Government. The Police parties were boycotted in the villages and signals were passed from village to village by the blowing of conch-shells, so that the people would be alerted against any possible repressive police action. The Government imposed collective fines and resorted to firing at several places.

Pamphlets and leaflets were distributed throughout the district inciting the people to resort to agitational activities. A number of bulletins variously named as *Congress_Bulletin, True-News* etc., were pasted at prominent places in Bhadrak informing the public of the incidents of the *August Revolution* and inflaming them against the British Government.[68]

On the receipt of the instructions from the Government of India, immediate action was taken to arrest the prominent Congress leaders and seize the Congress offices at Balasore, Soro, Bhadrak, Agarpara, and Dhamnagar. On 9 August' 42, top ranking leaders of the district like Rabindra Mohan Das, K.K. Panigrahi, Nilambar Das, Sardar Surendranath Das, were taken into custody.

The students, as usual, took the initiative in the matter. They launched strikes and boycotted educational Institutions at Soro, Bhadrak, Chandbali, and also in other place in the interior of the district . The authorities of the Balasore Zilla School abruptly closed the institution. Demonstrations and processions were organised by the students. Raghab Panigrahi and Jwala Prasad who were organising the students were arrested under rule 129 of the Defence of India Act. In Balasore town they (students) appealed the Chairman of the District Board and the Municipality to quit their posts.[69] They carried on picketings in front of the Government Offices. They used to enter Post-offices and court and destroyed the records. In this connection, students like Pitambar Pani, Trilochan Senapati, Bansidhar Jena, Niranjan Jena, etc of Balasore were arrested.[70] A pamphlet containing some of the Congress programme for agitation was found to be distributed among the public by the student agitators.[71] It included a number of directions such as (1) to plunder salt-golas, (2) not to give any information to the government servants, (3) domestic servants were asked to stop working of the government employees, (4) merchants were asked not to supply food-stuffs to the government servants, (5) not to provide any boat, motor or any other conveyance to the British government, (6) to boycott all educational Institutions, (7) to induce the government servants to resign from their jobs, (8) to cut telegraph lines, to stop communication of the Postal papers and messages and to break and loot the post-boxes, (9) to form *Swaraj-Panchayats* and to keep food-stuffs at their disposal,

(10) to stop payment of taxes, (11) to break the law by mass civil disobedience (12) to violate the forest-laws, (13) to persuade the government servants to demand more pay and wages.

Nilamani Routray who was then a student of the Benaras Hindu University (subsequently expelled from the University) came back to Orissa in the third week of August. He met Mohammad Haniff, the Congress President of Balasore DCC and discussed with him the problems and prospects of the *Quit-India movement.* It was decided that he would shoulder the responsibility of organisation and mass-mobilisation in East Bhadrak (Bhadrak to Chandbali) area during this period. Youth leaders like Satchidananda Mishra, Laxmidhar Padhy, Kalandi Charan Sahu, Abhiram Sahu, Krishna Chandra Sahu of Kalimegha etc. came forward for the revolutionary activities. All of them along with Nilamani Routray met in a secret meeting and decided to work for the nationalist cause by destroying the telegraph link and disrupting the Postal services between Bhadrak and Chandbali.[72] They used to visit villages like Tihidi, Guamala, Dola Sahi, Kubera, Godapala. Dangamala, Muharampur, Palia etc. at night and mobilised the rural folk as to how to oppose the British Government. The people were asked not to pay rent to the Government. As they smoothly carried on the work, naturally in the process the police could come to know about their activities. Nilamani Routray was arrested on 10 Sept.,'42.

The Congress in Balasore was very successful in mobilising the masses during the period of the *August Revolution*. The mobilisation was not confined to the elites or the educated middle class alone. Persons at the lowest rung of the social-ladder also participated in the movement. To give but a few examples, a peasant Kamadev Nayak by name of Dhamnagar area was so inspired and became so active during the period that the authorities never hesitated to arrest him on the charge of propagating against

the war.[73] Like Kamadev, a young boy, Nilakantha Das by name who used to maintain his livelihood by pulling Rickshaw in Balasore town, joined the movement and took active part in all agitational activities of the Congress and was finally arrested.[74]

An organisation called the *National Government* was formed in the Gurpal area of Balasore district in September, 1942.[75] The people of the area resolved in public meetings to paralyse the government machinery. They decided to stop the payment of taxes, to boycott the government servants, to compel the rural police to resign and to demolish the post-offices and the Police-Stations. It happened on a number of occasions when criminal cases were not reported to the government; rather they were settled in *Panchayat Courts.*

Bhandari-Pokhari incident :

The first violent incident took place on 17 August, '42 at Bhandari Pokhari, a place located 15 kilometers to the south of Bhadrak town. A massive agitational programme was taken up in this area under the leadership of persons like Jagannath Das (Congress member of the Legislative Assembly), Dwarikanath Das, Baishnab Charan Nayak (then a student of Ravenshaw College, Cuttack), Muralidhar Jena, Ghanasyam Sahu, Bhabani Sahu etc. At their instance nearly a crowd of four thousand people armed with *lathis* surrounded the Police station (17 August) and went on a rampage.[76] There were only one Assistant Sub-Inspector and three constables present at that time. The people entered the Police-station, assaulted the constables, smashed all furniture, destroyed the records, and burnt down the Police Station. The ASI escaped to a nearby village and took shelter there. One of the injured constables managed to escape and sent information to the SDO, Bhadrak who in turn informed the district authorities.[77] One of the constables became unconscious. The people set fire to the

residential quarters of the police personnel and the Post Office. They had cut the telegraph-wires, and had destroyed a wooden bridge on the road from Bhadrak to Bhandari pokhari, so that the police reinforcements from outside would not be able to come quickly to the disturbed areas. By the time the D.M. reached with a large armed police-force, the people had already dispersed. Then a reign of terror was unleashed in the area and the leading agitators like Jagannath Das, Dwarikanath Das, Baishnab Charan Nayak, *Mahanta* Durga Charan Bharati of Nerada *Matha* (Popularly known as *Naga Sanyasi*) and others were taken into custody. A punitive fine to the tune of Rs.6,000/- on twelve villages was imposed.[78] The villages were Bhandaripokhari, Uttarabada, Dakshinabada, Chandrabhanupur, Pirpur, Kohara Pokhari, Rajendrapur, Naguan, Patuli, Palat and Torat.[79]

Lunia (Dhamnagar P.S.) firing :

Towards the end of August, the entire area of Dhamnagar Police-Station was in a ferment. The uniform of *chowkidars* and some other police personnel were burnt. There were some instances of extortion and looting of paddy of *Mahajans*. After the Bhandaripokhari incident and the subsequent arrest of Jagannath Das, Dwarikanath Das, Muralidhar Jena etc. the situation did not improve from the official point of view and others led the movement in their absence. The Congress movement was so well organised in Jajpur (Cuttack district) and in the neighbouring areas of Balasore that there was little chance of its being put down. The lieutenants who spearheaded the movement in the area were Jagannath Das, Muralidhar Panda, Muralidhar Jena, Baishnab Charan Nayak, Kambed Nayak, Rajani Goswami, Sagar Bhuyan, Nabakishore Nayak, Purnananda Nayak, Krushna Chandra Majhi, Krupasindhu Das, Anadi Charan Mallick, Nityananda Mohapatra etc. Inspite of the best efforts on the part of the government, these people who were moving from village to village, could not be arrested.[80]

The Congress activities assumed menacing proportions in the month of September. On 5 September, 1942, the people burnt a number of uniforms of *Chaukidars* and *Dafadars* at a place called Dhusuri. In a bid to strike terror, a flag march of the armed police led by S.P., Balasore, was conducted, throughout the disturbed areas. On the way, the Police force was threatened by a crowd led by Muralidhar Panda.[81] Acts of lawlessness and extortion were carried on under his leadership in the Dhamnagar Police-Station. So the authorities decided to arrest him.

The Sub-Inspector of Dhamnagar Police Station received information on 21 September that Muralidhar Panda was there in the village, Srijanga. So on the same night the S.I. with the available force of 14 constables, 2 *Havildar*, 12 *Chowkidars* and 1 *dafadar* set out to arrest him. On reaching there the next morning (22 September) it was found that Muralidhar had left for his village Lunia-Katasahi. Then the police force proceeded towards Katasahi on 22 September, where they faced a crowd of three thousand people. Soon after the arrival of the police force, the crowd blew conch-shells and beat drums and stream of people from the neighbouring villages poured in and joined them. Within a short period about 4 to 5 thousand people assembled there. Muralidhar Panda refused to be arrested and asked the police party to go back. The police force was surrounded by the people and it became difficult for them to get out of the melee. Having seen their helpless condition, the people snatched away the rifles from them. They were then pushed to a neighbouring field called Chandiaposi. In a state of despair, the police appealed the crowd to return their arms and ammunitions. Finally the agitators relented and returned the rifles. But as soon as they got back the rifles, the Police force opened fire. No formal order (to fire) was given to them. Thirty five rounds were shot, 9 persons were killed and many wounded. The Police force then retreated in such panic that they did not pick-up

the dead or the wounded. They reached Bhadrak at about 2 pm. and informed the SDO of the occurrence.

The dead bodies and the injured persons were taken in a procession to Bhadrak. Muralidhar Panda, who accompanied them to Bhadrak was arrested there. Many other persons from Dhamnagar area like Nabakrushna Nayak, Gananath Padhi, Kamadev Nayak, Dharanidhar Jena etc. also were arrested. A collective fine of Rs.2225/- was imposed on the local people and the Government pursued a terrible repressive policy.

Tudigadia- Khairadihi firing :

Tudigadia area of the Khaira Police Station was politically very active during the *Quit-India movement*. The local Congress leaders like Krushna Chandra Jena, Chintamani Panda, Purushottam Padhi etc. were very successful in injecting the anti-British feeling into the innocent minds of the rural folk. Baidyanath Rout, of the village Khairadiha, who was a student of Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, gave up his studies and took the lead in the movement. Suryamani Tripathy, who belonged to Dhamnagar area and a few students of Soro High School also joined the agitation.

In a momentous development, the Congress leaders declared Tudigadia area *"free and independent"*. A parallel *Panchayat* administration was established with headquarters in the village Chhatra. Naturally, the police took a serious view of the whole affair. On 22 September, the Sub-Inspector of Khaira Police Station along with some constables and *chowkidars* of the area reached Tudigadia *Hat* and arrested the leader Baidyanath Rout. But thousands of people protested against the arrest of their leader and did not allow the police party to take him with them. In the process scuffles ensued between the police and the agitators. The police party including the SI were assaulted and fled away in panic. Baidyanath Rout could not be arrested.

So one Inspector of Police with armed force was sent on 27 September 42 to arrest the persons who attacked the SI and the police party.[82] When they reached Khairadihi, the police party faced a mob of about 400 people there blowing conch-shells. The mob was armed with *lathis* and soon they were joined by others from the neighbouring villages. The leaders of the mob had no intention of surrendering themselves and told the Inspector that they would all be arrested or shot before they would allow him to take away the accused.[83] The Inspector declared the assembly unlawful and asked them to disperse. The mob moved forward instead of retreating. So firing was ordered. The police fired nine rounds but there was no casualty. Even then the people did not move. The police party then withdrew to the police camp without any interference from the crowd. But there was an interesting aspect to the firing episode as to why no damage could be caused inspite of the firing. Both the Inspector and the Sergeant Major (who accompanied the Police force) agreed that the constables did not take proper aim (may be deliberately.)[84] So the emergency force sent from Cuttack was despatched to reinforce the armed reserve at Khaira.

Again on the next morning i.e. on 28 September,'42, the Inspector with the S.I. of Khaira and Soro, proceeded to arrest the persons. When they left, there was the blowing of conch-shells as usual to let the people know about the movement of the Police. At Panisiali, they searched the house of Puria Naik, but he could not be found. Then they proceeded to Khairadihi and arrested some persons. But they could not find any trace of Baidyanath Rout. So the Police conducted a search of some closed houses breaking open the doors. The Inspector suspected that he (Baidyanath) was inside the house. As soon as the police entered inside, the people set fire to the houses to trap the police party inside. After the search, when the police party proceeded towards Dantur, a large

mob, armed with "*lathis, katuris, bows* and *arrows*", followed them. They were asked by the police to disperse and the crowd did not care for the warning and moved forward. The Police-force got frightened and firing was ordered. Raghu Behera of village *Badhi*. and Makar Jena of village *Badapokhari* died on the spot and Madhu Das of village *Badhi*, Ananda Chandra Das Mohapatra of village *Badapokhari*, and Shyam Sundar Barik of *Budhakhunta* were seriously wounded. At this the people retreated. The Police again conducted some searches at Kairadihi but could find none. The house of Siba Rout, the father of Baidyanath Rout was raided and looted by the Police. Then the Police party returned to the camp at Tudigagia with dead bodies.

Again at about 3 pm. a large crowd under the leadership of Baidyanath Rout, Chintamani Panda, Krushna Chandra Jena and Suryamani Tripathy reached Tudigodia and surrounded the Police camp to rescue the dead bodies and the arrested persons. In the process, the Police again fired upon the crowd. Kelu Sahu of village *Delang* died on the spot. Then the people dispersed and the police caught hold of 19 persons.

Thereafter drastic repressive measures were undertaken by the Police. Many people were arrested. The houses of some prominent leaders of the area were raided and the properties seized. Baidyanath Rout, the young but the principal leader of the area was arrested on 30 September, 42. A punitive tax to the tune of Rs.2000/-was collected from six villages namely, Khairadihi, Harekrishnapur, Delang, Chhatra, Panisiali and Mallikpur.

Eram incident :

Eram, a place near the seashore in Basudevpur police station, proved to be the epicentre of agitation in Balasore district. An area of about 40 square miles in a semi-circle lying between the rivers "*Kansabansa and Gambhi (Gomei)*" and the sea, remained virtually

isolated during the rainy season because of the natural barriers. There were three groups of villages in the locality- the Eram, the Sankharo-Padhuan, and the Suan-Sadeipada groups. Lack of communications and the resultant inaccessibility of the region provided salubrious conditions for the insurgency to grow. The leaders could be able to incite the people of the area to undertake acts of violence and lawlessness in a short period. Eram was quite receptive to the National movement at different stages. Political mobilisation during the *Quit-India movement* was carried on by leaders like Anirudha Mohanty of *Eram*, Kamalakanta Kar of *Sankharo*, Gouranga Charan Mohanty of *Barandua*, Pravakar Tripathy, Ganesh Prasad Tripathy, Shyamsundar Panigrahi etc. A new dimension was added to the process of mass mobilisation because of the wide-circulation of the popular compositions by Banchhanidhi Mohanty. Not only did he write poems with intense nationalist fervour but also he did popularise them through his own stage performance and street plays among the innocent rural folk.

During August, 42, the Eram area remained calm and incident free. But on September, a meeting was organised at *Daulatpur Bazar* in which about 200 people participated. The speakers pleaded for the burning of *Dak-bungalows*, and Police stations, non-payment of taxes, and the destruction of the telegraph links. There after followed a series of meetings in different parts of the Basudevpur Police Station for the purpose of mass-mobilisation. The chief organisers were Anirudha Mohanty, Kamala Kanta Kar and Gouranga Charan Mohanty. Eram, a large village, was made the head-quarters of the movement. Meetings were organised at Eram, Betrahat, Satipati, Brahmangaon, Basudevpur etc. At the same time the programme of coercion of *chowkidars* and *dafadars* was put into effect and paddy was extorted from the rich for distribution among the poor. All these activities were carried on without any serious obstacle because of the inaccessible nature of the area. A

highly organised system of intelligence developed in the region and the leaders of the movement could come to know about plans of the police easily. Signals were passed from village to village by the blowing of the conch-shells to indicate the arrival of the police forces.

A momentous development took place in Eram area, when a parallel government was formed on 17 September, 42. That organisation was known as "*Swadhina Banchhanidhi Chakla*" With Six *Panchayats* and 26 villages the area of the *Chakla* comprised of 19 square miles. An apex Committee with five members was constituted for the functioning of the Government. Gouranga Charan Mohanty was designated as the *Prime-minister*, and Kamala Kanta Kar as its *Director* and the *Commander-in-Chief*. The three other members of the Committee were Anirudha Mohanty, Pravakar Tripathy and Shyam Sunder Panigrahi. The residence of Arjun Biswal was used as the office with the Congress tri-colour flag hoisted at the top. They established their own court to try cases and a jail to detain the convicts. The organisation had its own departments such as Army, intelligence and food. A letter dated 29 September, 42 from "*B.O.* to *C.O.*" reported that "*Swaraj Panchayats*" were formed in 12 villages and 250 soldiers of the "*maran-sena*" (Death squad) had been enrolled.[85] There were large number of cases of extortion of paddy under threat from the rich and there was definite attempt to destroy the rural police organisation.

Consequently, a serious situation emerged in this area. On 17 September, the "*Chowkidars* and *Dafadars*" were compelled to hand over their uniforms in a large crowd. On 18 September, a public meeting was organised at Basudevpur and the leaders like Anirudha Mohanty, Kamalakanta Kar, Gouranga Charan Mohanty etc. delivered inflammatory speeches. It was resolved in this meeting to attack the Police-station on 22 September. On the next

day (19 September) three persons were arrested. On 20 September, the coastal watching station of the Government at Kulikhati bungalow, which was about a mile and half to the east to Eram, was raided by the people. On 24 September, the section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code was clamped by the D.M. prohibiting the assembly of more than 5 persons within the jurisdiction of Basudevpur Police-Station.

Firing at Eram : The local *Zamindar* Radhakanta Padhi who was never hostile to the Congress movement in the earlier phases, behaved differently this time. He felt himself insecure in the situation and apprehended that his granary would be looted by the agitators.[86] So the Zamindar and the Union President placed a number of allegations before the authorities against the Congress leaders of the area.

On 28 September, 42, a police contingent consisting of an Inspector, one Sub-Inspector, one *Havildar* and 18 armed constables under the command of a Deputy Superintendent of Police left Basudevpur Police Station at about 2 PM for Eram to inquire into the allegations of the *Zamindar* and to arrest the leaders. At Chudamani, they saw a man blowing a conch-shell, who pretended that he was doing so because there was a "*Puja*" Just before crossing Gomel river they noticed a gathering of 300 people and many conch-shells were blown simultaneously. The crossing of the river took sometime as there was only one small ferryboat and so the luggage was left behind incharge of three *chowkidars*. At about 6 pm. in the evening the Police force reached the residence of the *Zamindar*.

By then about 5000 people from the neighbouring villages assembled at "*Melan-pada*" chanting slogans like "*Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai*" "*Angrez Rajya ka Dhwansa ho*" etc. The crowd was in a very excited and determined mood. When the police party

had just been given orders to rest, one of the *chowkidars* in the meantime reported that the luggage had been looted at '*Melan-pada*' by the crowd. The DSP lost his temper and ordered the force to rush to the '*melan-pada*'. It was about 6.30 in the evening. The meeting ground was jam-packed with men, women and children. The Assembly was declared unlawful and asked to disperse. The entire atmosphere was surcharged with tension and excitement. The crowd did not listen to the warning and in the process the DSP issued orders to open fire. 29 innocent persons were killed (28 on the spot and 1 person subsequently in Koraput jail) and 56 persons were injured. One woman, Pari Bewa by name, was found killed in the field. This was the most tragic event of the *August revolution* in Orissa and *probably no where in India so many people were killed in a single police-action during the course of the movement.*[87] The Government was severely censured for such a ghastly act.

After the incident, as it was the usual practice, the police pursued a terrible policy of repression. They moved from village to village to arrest the leaders and persons whom they suspected to have taken part in the movement. Out of fear, residents of some villages left their homes and fled to the neighbouring jungle. The villages wore a deserted look and the policemen freely looted them. Anirudha Mohanty was arrested on 1 October, 42, Kamala Kanta Kar on 6 October and Gournaga Charan Mohanty on 17 October. Along with these leaders a number of persons like Ganesh Chandra Tripathy, Manibhadra Biswal, Kusa Terai, Bhaskar Chandra Parida, Nisakar Dalai, Madhusudan Panda, Banchhanidhi Agasti, Bhaskar Tripathy, Bhaskar Chandra Kar, Arjuna Biswal, Bhaskar Palai, Trilochan Tripathy etc. were also taken into police custody. A punitive tax to the tune of Rs. 4, 700/-was imposed, but could not be collected.[88]

After the incident at Eram, the agitation in South Balasore, calmed down. North Balasore was badly hit by a severe cyclone on 15 and 16 October, 42. Many people became homeless and suffered from starvation. They raided a rice-mill at Lakshmannath on 19 October after the cyclone. Police opened fire there, which resulted in one death and a few others were injured. By the end of October, 42 Balasore limped back to normalcy.

Underground activities : The underground organisation of Surendranath Dwivedy had established its link with the leaders of Balasore during the period of the *Quit India Movement*. Gour Charan Das, the Secretary of the Balasore DCC (banned then). Piari Mohan Das, Dukhishyam Padhi etc. worked as the linkmen and took active part in spearheading the movement throughout the district. They were implicated in the Orissa Conspiracy Case. Leaflets and bulletins were distributed on a massive scale throughout the district. Prominent men took the leadership of groups of villages and evolved methods of organised resistance to the government authorities.[89] At the approach of the police or other government officials, the villagers used to blow conch-shells and beat drums as a signal for villagers to assemble with the weapons in their possession in order to resist the entry of the officials into their area.[90] Secret underground activities were carried on in a number of places instigating the people to break all ties with the government and rise in rebellion against the alien rule.

Among others, those who were arrested during this period from Balasore district included Rabindra Mohan Das, Durga Das, Trilochan Senapati, Muralidhar Jena, Karunakar Das, Indramani Das, Bhagabat Sahu, Goura Charan Mohapatra, Mukti Kanta Padhi, Bhairab Charan Mohapatra, Raghabananada Panigrahi etc.

In the Balasore town, attempt was made to damage the Motiganj Post-office during the second half of November'42. Eight persons were arrested in that connection.

Attitude of other parties and organisations in Orissa to the Quit India movement :

Communist Party · The Communists in the province faltered initially as to the part they would play in the movement. However, the majority view was in favour of helping any movement directed against the British Imperialism. They had understood that the people would unhesitatingly follow the leadership of Gandhiji in any of his ventures, and opposition to him would alienate them from the main-stream. In such an event, they would not be in a position to explain the war as a '*Peoples war*' There was difference in perception as regards the official policy (non-participation in the Quit-India movement) of the Communist Party. The Communists in the province declared their policy to continue the fight for national Independence in close association with the Congress.[91] It was decided beforehand to hold the provincial Kisan Conference at Cuttack on 10 August 42, and the peasant leader from Bihar Swami Shahajananda Saraswati arrived at Cuttack on 9 August to preside over it. But because of the sudden change in the political situation of India, the conference was postponed on his advice. On 9 August, the Communist Party Office was opened at Chandichowk of Cuttack town and a meeting was held with Sahajananda Saraswati on the chair. Among others the meeting was attended by prominent leaders like Bhagabati Charan Panigrahi, Gangadhar Paikray, Gokul Mohan Ray Chudamani, Prananth Patanaik, Parsuram Padatika Ray, Digambar Harichandan, Bankanidhi Subudhi, Damodar Mishra etc. A hand-written leaflet namely "*Mukti-Yodha*" was circulated on that day. The Communist Party instructed its members to organise meetings and processions in protest against the arrest of the Congress leaders. They (the Communists) observed *anti-repression day* on 25 September, 42 as a demonstration of protest against the repressive policy of the Government. A signature campaign was started by the Communists in October, 42 to demand the

release of the national leaders and the withdrawal of the repressive policy of the government. They urged the people to remain united to resist the Japanese aggression and for driving out the Japanese and the British from the land.[92] They condemned Britain and America for setting the fascist powers against the Soviet union and then trying to form an alliance with the latter, when their own interests were affected. They supported the Government in their war-efforts against the Fascists and opposed them for their repressive Policy and detention of national leaders.

The *Forward Blockists* issued some leaflets like "*war of independence*" which prescribed recommendations to intensify the anti-government agitation. They justified the movement on the ground that the established government in India was an illegal body. The bulletins incited the people to disarm the police and to disobey the government orders.

The "*Harijan Sevak Sangh*" supported the move of the Congress and Nanda Kishore Das, President of the Orissa branch of the *Sangha* issued appeals to the government servants to resign their jobs as a mark of protest. In consequence, he was arrested by the Police.

A section of the *Muslims*, particularly the members of the *Muslim league* had no sympathy with the movement. They decided not to participate in any movement initiated by the Congress. They appealed their co-religionists in the Congress to resign from that organisation and join the League. However, few nationalist muslims like Muhammad Hanif of Balasore played important role during the *Quit-India movement*.

The Land holders (the *Zamindars*) were extremely servile in their attitude to the British Government. In the meeting held in Madhupur House at Cuttack on 14 February '42, they passed resolutions disapproving the anti-war attitude of the Congress and announcing their resolve to fight any move calculated to turn-out the British from India.[93] They went a step further in urging the

Viceroy to desist from all negotiations with the Congress until the termination of the war.[94] They were the main-stay of the Government in raising war-funds and collecting materials for the prosecution of the war.

Another curious event in the political scene of Orissa that affected the course of the movement was the secession of some prominent members from the Congress Organisation. They began to propagate views that were pro-British and anti-Congress. They formed different Organisations like *United National Party, Orissa Congress Swaraj Dal, Orissa Democratic union, United Party* etc. The coalition ministry which was formed in November, 1941, was mainly due to their efforts. They served to help the foreign masters to tighten their hold on India and carry on their war-effort with ease. Their activities, policy and anti-Congress propaganda, on the other hand adversely affected the Congress movement to some extent.

Women participation :

Women in Orissa, like their male counterparts, took active part in the *Quit-India movement*. Along with other prominent leaders of the Congress, Rama Devi was taken into custody on 9 August at Cuttack. The other leading personality of the period was Malati Choudhury, who attended the AICC Conference at Bombay on 8 August. She was a close associate of Surendranath Dwivedy and a founder member of the underground movement in Orissa. On her return from Bombay, she was arrested at Cuttack. The arrest of a lady of her stature created a great deal of excitement in the town and inflamed the public opinion in Orissa against the British.

Nandini Devi, then a fire brand student leader of Ravenshaw college, was taken into custody for her complicity in the incident of 15 August, 42, when the students (Ravenshaw college) went on rampage and perpetrated arson in the campus.

The Congress *Asharam* at Bari, which was developed as the most prominent centre of Congress activities in the district of Cuttack was declared unlawful and attached by the police soon after the commencement of the movement. The women workers and trainees, who were associated with the *Ashram* were arrested on their refusal to quit the place.[95] Among the ladies, those who were taken into custody, were Godavari Devi, Usha Devi, Priyambada Devi, Haramani Devi, Haripriya Devi, Susila Devi, Malati Devi, Kiran Devi etc.[96] On 16 August, when the attempt was made to reoccupy the *Ashram*, Mangala Devi and some other women Congress workers were arrested for their active participation in the incident. On 21 August, Priyambada Devi and Godabari Devi were arrested.

Annapurna Moharana undertook extensive tours in the interior of the Cuttack District and addressed public meetings with the intention of mobilising the masses against the British. On 26 August, at Kaipada thousands of people became aggressive and tried to overpower the police party to release their arrested leaders, when she (Annapurna Moharana) joined them. The police opened fire and four persons lost their lives on the spot and many more were injured. In Jagatsinghpur, Balikuda and Tirtol areas, the movement took a violent form largely because of her involvement. Finally she was arrested and was confined in Cuttack jail. During the *Quit India movement* in Orissa many women '*Satyagrahis*' courted arrest and were lodged in different jails. During this period the Cuttack jail hosted women freedom fighters like Rama Devi, Malati Devi, Sunamani Devi, Priyambada Devi, Haripriya Devi, Susila Devi, Mangala Devi, Godabari Devi, Sobharani Panda, Sasibala Kanungo, Khetramani Devi, Usha Devi, Haramani Devi, Bimala Devi, Belasi Devi, Bela Devi, Kiranlekha Roy, Sakuntala Mohanty, Uttara Choudhury, etc.

At Eram in Basudevpur police-station (Balasore district) Pari Bewa sacrificed her life in police firing on 28 September '42

for the cause of the liberation of the motherland. Basanti Devi, who was also present in the same meeting, suffered from a bullet injury.

In Orissa, the nature of women-participation was not confined only to organise meetings, *hartals* or to deliver inflammatory speeches from the dias, but they also took active part in undertaking subversive activities. At Sambalpur, a brave woman, Jambuvati Devi led a procession to Bihar crossing the boundary of Orissa, which started from Ghoramara Training school to Tumuka (in Bihar). She was involved in the attack of the District Court of Tumuka and was arrested. In the process she was injured and breathed her last in Bihar on 15 July,1943. Along with her also women leaders like Parbati Giri, Prabhabati Devi, Radhika Devi etc. contributed a lot to the growth of the movement.

A brave young lady of Baragarh (Sambalpur district), Parbati Giri by name, made a sensational news when she led a procession and overpowered the Sub-divisional officer, B. Mukherjee during the period of the *Quit-India movement.* They tied him (S.D.O) in a rope and a drama was enacted. She (Parbati) sat on the chair of the S.D.O. and pronounced the judgment of arresting the real S.D.O. in a mock trial. Biranchi Pradhan and Purna Giri assisted her in staging the drama and the hilarious crowd enjoyed the scene to their hearts' content.

The women freedom fighters of Puri district like Sunamani Devi, Gunamanjari Devi, Bimala Devi, Musi Devi, etc. worked shoulder to shoulder with their male counterparts in raising the banner of revolt against the imperialist government. They were active in Kakat pur, Satyabadi and Delang-Beraboi areas. Prominent among them Sunamani Devi, who was trained at *Sabarmati Ashram* for six months, was arrested in August ,42 and confined to jail till 1944.[97]

The women leaders like Champa Devi, Hemalata Devi, Smt. Suryaama, P.Taramma, etc. were active in the district of Ganjam during this period. P. Taramma, who led the movement in Paralakhemundi area was imprisoned for two and half years.[98] Chamapa Devi too was also detained for her subversive activities.[99]

A very famous playwright of the period was Seeta Devi Khadenga (born in 1902 at Aska in Ganjam), who preached the message of Gandhiji and inspired the people for the nationalist cause through her writings. In her work *"Posya Putra"*, she made a fervent appeal to the masses to emancipate the motherland from the shackles of bondage.

It was gratifying to note that the women participation was on the increase gradually during the course of the freedom struggle. The women folk in tribal and rural areas were mobilised to action during the *August revolution* in Orissa.

Quieter phase of the movement

The repressive Policy of the Government could not dampen the spirit of the agitators in continuing the movement in the province. After the arrest of the front-ranking leaders, a second line of leadership emerged. They incited the people to continue the movement and to keep the flame of the revolution ablaze.

The Government did not rest with the incidents of firing and arrest of the leaders. Heavy Collective fines were imposed on many villages and they were rigorously collected. Collective fine to the tune of Rupees 27,750/- was imposed on some villages of the coastal tract.[100] Of this amount Rs 12,500/- fell to the share of Cuttack district and Rs11, 758/- and Rs 2,500/- were levied on the villages of Balasore and Puri districts respectively.[101]

However, the movement quietened with the advent of the year 1943.

* * *

Notes and References :

1 S.N. Patanaik, *Odisare Swādhinata Andolan* (Berhampur, 1972 p.174.

2. Rama Chandra Ram, *Sangrami* (Cuttack, 1986), p.54.

3. H.K. Mahatab (*ed.*), *History of the freedom movement in Orissa Vol. IV* (Cuttack, 1957), p. 92 (Here after *HFMO*).

4. *ibid.*

5. *ibid*, pp.92-93.

6. *ibid.* p.92.

7 S.N. Dwivedy, August-Biplav, (Cuttack, 1989), p.83.

8. *HFMO*, p,93.

9. S C. De, *Story of Freedom struggle in Orissa* (Bhubaneswar, 1990), p.95

10 S.N. Patanaik, *op. cit.*, p.176.

11 *HFMO*, Vol.V. (Cuttack, 1959), p.64.

12. *ibid.*, p.65.

13. *ibid.*

14. *ibid.*, p.66.

15. Home Political (Confidential) File No 657/1942, OSA.

16. *HFMO*, Vol.IV, p.94.

17 Confidential Weekly Diary, Cuttack, No.5093 (con), 10-9-42, Quoted from *HFMO*, Vol. V. p.70.

18. *A.B. Patrika*, 13 September, 42.

19. *HFMO*, Vol.V, p.64.

20. *ibid.*, p.66.

21. *ibid.*, p.68.

22. *ibid.*

23. Home Political (Confidential) File No. 662/1942, OSA.

24. From D.M. to Chief Secretary, No. 1707, Res, Dt 17.Sept, 1942. Quoted from HFMO, Vol. V, p.72.

25. Home Political (Confidential) File No.665/1942, OSA.

26. *HFMO*, Vol. V, p.59.

27. *ibid*

28. *ibid* p.69.

29. *Land Tenure and Land Reforms in Orissa*, Board of Revenue (Cuttack, 1962), p.30,Para.78.

30. *ibid.*

31 *HFMO*, Vol. IV, p.89.

32. *HFMO*, Vol. V. p.86.

33. *ibid.*

34. *ibid.*, p.87

35. *ibid.*

36. *HFMO*, Vol.IV. p. 89.

37 *ibid.*

38. *ibid.*

39. *ibid.*

40. *ibid.*, p.93.

41. *ibid.*

42. N. Das in *Adibasi*, 1967-68, Vol. IX, April-1967,p.24.

43. *ibid.*

44. *ibid.*

45. N. Senapati (*ed.*) *Orissa District Gazetteers, Koraput*, (Cuttack, 1966), p.75.

46. *ibid.*

47 N. Das in *Adibasi*, *op. cit.*, p.24.

48. *ibid.*

49. *Orissa District Gazatteers, Koraput*, p.76.

50. N. Das in *Adibasi*, op. cit, p.25.

51. *ibid.*, p.26.

52. *ibid.*

53. S.N. Patanaik, *op.cit.,* p.185.
54. *HFMO,* Vol.IV, p.90.
55. *Orissa District Gazetteers, Koraput,* p.76.
56. *ibid.*
57. *ibid.,* (Quoted from *A.B.Patrika,* Independence Number, 1947, p.180)
58. *ibid.*
59. *HFMO,* Vol.V, p.83.
60. S.N. Patanaik, op.cit p.177.
61. *Orissa District Gazetteers, Puri,* p. 110.
62. *HFMO,* Vol. V. p.84.
63. *Orissa District Gazetteers, Sambalpur,* p.81.
64. *HFMO,* Vol. V, p.85.
65. *ibid.*
66. *ibid.*
67. *ibid.,* p.86.
68. *HFMO,* Vol.IV, p.95.
69. *ibid.,* p. 94.
70. Nilamani Routray, *Smruti O Anubhuti* (Cuttack. 1986), p.143.
71. *HFMO,* Vol. IV, p.94.
72. N. Routray. *op. cit.,* p.139.
73. *ibid.,* p.147.
74. *ibid.*
75. *HFMO,* Vol.IV, p.96.
76. S.C.De, *op.cit.,* p.92.
77. *ibid.*
78. *A.B. Patrika,* 13 September, 1942.
79. *The Samaj,* 28 August, 1942.
80. Collector, Balasore to Chief Secretary, Govt of Orissa, Cuttack, D.O. No. 1260-c dated 23 September, 1942. *WWCC* No.62 (OSA).

81. *ibid.*

82. Collector, Balasore to Chief Secretary, Govt of Orissa, Cuttack, D.O. No-1266-C dated 28 September, 1942.
ibid.

83. *ibid.*

84. *ibid.*

85. *HFMO*, Vol. IV, Appendix-E, p.73.

86. N.Routray *op.cit.*, p.144.

87 K.M. Patra, *An Advanced Histroy of Orissa*, (Delhi, 1983), p. 300.

88. *HFMO*, Vol.IV, p.101.

89. *ibid.*, p.96.

90. *ibid.*

91 *ibid.*, p.99.

92. *ibid.*, p.100.

93. *HFMO*, Vol. V, p.57

94. *ibid.*

95. Rama Devi Choudhury, *Jibana Pathe* (Cuttack, 1984), p.121

96. *ibid.*

97 *Who's Who of freedom workers in Orissa*, Vol. V (Bhubaneswar, 1970) p.68.

98. Maguni Das (*ed.*), *Ganjam Swadhinata Sangram Jibani Smaranika* (Oriya) published by freedom fighters of Ganjam (Berhampur, 1985) p.40.

99. *The Samaj*, 17 March, 1977.

100. *HFMO*, Vol. V, p.55.

101. *ibid.*

CHAPTER IV

The Echo in the Princely States

The standing Committee of the AISPC in a resolution[1] (drafted by Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of the AISPC on 8 August 42 at Bombay) urged upon the people of the State, "......*to stand shoulder to shoulder with the rest of India and face together the trials and tribulations of the struggle for freedom.*" Welcoming the AICC for the lead given to the country in that hour of grave crisis, it (Standing Committee) called upon the States' people ....*to carry out the directions issued by Mahatma Gandhi in so far as they are applicable to them.*"

With the passing of the *Quit-India* resolution and the subsequent arrest of the leaders, the state peoples in Orissa were pushed into action. The movement in the Princely States of Orissa should not be judged as an isolated incident away from the national movement. The Indian freedom struggle had its positive repercussions on these tiny principalities. Mass movements were carried on at different places and the people were all astir in expressing their resentment. The movement assumed a vigorous character in Dhenkanal, Talcher, Nayagarh, Nilgiri and few other places.

DHENKANAL

The first phase of the *Prajamandal* movement in Dhenkanal was launched in 1938-39. The foremost demands were the granting of civil liberties and the formation of the responsible Government

by the elected representatives of the people. The demand sheet also listed the abolition of the *Bethi* and *Magan*. The enactment of tenancy laws was demanded as per the clauses of the Orissa Tenancy Act. The other demands included amendment of the forest-laws, abolition of all import and export restrictions, abolition of monopoly of necessaries like betel-leaf etc. The net result of the first phase of the movement (1938-39) was some concessions granted in the economic sphere. The demand for self-Government and effective popular control of the administration remained to be fulfilled. The British Imperialism was condemned everywhere as the root of the trouble in the State and the whole agitation was considered as a part of the national movement. The *Prajamandal* then concentrated on constructive activities like spinning, prohibition, sanitation etc and carried on preparations for another offensive.

The outbreak of World War II had provided ample scope to the State Administration to pursue all possible measures to stifle the agitators into submission. Prominent leaders were taken into custody. False and concocted cases were instituted against the activists. But the repressive measures did not dampen the spirit of the people, though they were subdued in the changed situation. In the absence of recognised leaders (as they had been arrested), a second line of leadership emerged, which took all possible steps in high lighting the demands of the people. Because of drought in the latter part of 1940, there was a short fall-in the production of crops and as a result, the people of the State had suffered badly. The *Prajamandal* had demanded immediate introduction of relief-measures and the remission of revenue in the affected areas.

On 29 June 1940, two prominent leaders of Dhenkanal *Prajamandal*, Baishnab Charan Patanaik and Maheswar SubahuSingh were taken into custody under D.I.R.[2] Conditional

release was granted to Maheswar SubahuSingh on 27 February, 1942, and to Baishnab Charan Patanaik on 28 April, 1942.[3] Restrictions were imposed on the movement of these leaders. Early in August, 42, Baishrab managed to sneak to Cuttack and since then made himself unavailable.

As a sequel to the *Quit-India* resolution, in Orissa the Congress leaders were arrested and the Government declared the Congress and other allied organisations unlawful. Instances of sporadic mob violence were galore in consequence.

In Dhenkanal a state of emergency was proclaimed on 11 August, 42, and the Criminal Amendment Act of 1908 (Act No. 14) and 1932 (Act NO. 32) came into immediate force.[4] In a separate notification, Dhenkanal *Prajamandal* was declared unlawful on 16 August, 42.[5] Public meetings and processions were prohibited without the written permission of the Magistrate.[6]

Apprehending trouble, the State issued orders on 17 August '42 for detaining Kishori Sahu, Bhagirathi Sahu, Dibakar Biswal, Baishnab Charan Patnaik, Maheswar Subahusingh, Purnachandra Mohapatra and restricting the movement of Musa Mallick and Debaraja Patra.[7] Out of these persons only Maheswar Subahusingh and Purna Chandra Mohapatra were arrested on 19 August and others made themselves unavailable.[8]

Nothing was heard about Baishnab Charana Patnaik till 26 August, 42, when he led a group of 19 persons to Murhi (a sub-division of Dhenkanal State, presently known as Kamakshya Nagar) and created a serious problem of law and order for the authorities.[9] Obviously during the time of the arrest of the Congress leaders he was at Cuttack and had discussed with the provincial leaders as to how to carry out the movement in Dhenkanal. His intention was that Dhenkanal should not lag behind the national mainstream and they must do something in the State.

He then secretly came back to Dhenkanal and met Maheswar Subahusingh and Purna Chandra Mohapatra, the two aged leaders of Dhenkanal *Prajamandal*, before they were arrested. But these two leaders refused to become active then due to their old age and failing health and Baishnab returned disappointed.[10] Then he met Debaraj Patra at Manikmara and sent messages to different leaders of Murhi and Parjang to meet him secretly. He also sent some leaflets to villages which he carried from Cuttack. As the papers containing the warrants of arrest had not reached Murhi, the *Prajamandal* leaders of the area could not be arrested Under such circumstances, before they were actually taken into custody, these leaders made themselves scarce and hid in Rangathali jungle.[11] Thirtyone leaders from different villages like Baligorada, Khatakhura, Mota, Bangursingha, Kandarsingha, Moha biroda, Pitani, Khairamunda , Kuanlu, Manikmara, Raghunath Pur, Palasuni, Pangatira etc gathered at Rangathali jungle under the leadership of Baishnab to chalk out the future course of action.[12] They formed a suicide squad (*Maran Sena*) of 21 persons and took an oath to sacrifice their lives in working for the cause of the people.[13]

On 23 August, 42, Baishnab and his party started from Rangathali jungle.[14] It was decided to capture Parjang Police Station on 24 August, 42. But when they approached Parjang, they were fed with wrong information (may be deliberately) by one Bholeswar Sahu of village Raghunath Pur and the village *Chowkidar*, about the arrival of fresh contingents of armed forces in the Parjang Police Station. As it was impossible to face the well-equipped armed forces, they changed their plan of action and turned towards Murhi.

These 19 persons reached Murhi around 4 A.M in the morning of 26 August, 1942. They were armed with deadly weapons , such as muzzle loading guns, swords, spears, knives, bows, arrows, *lathis* etc. Also they carried with them the tri-colour flag and some

leaflets for distribution. Along with them went a boy of 12 years, Baidhar Swain by name, who remained in charge of their baggage and surplus weapons in the jungle. Eighteen raided the Police Station at Murhi.

The two armed guards and the two *Chowkidars* on duty at the Police station were overpowered and locked up in the *hazat.* Then they broke open one armoury and collected 4 rifles and 200 cartridges.[15] But they failed to break open another armoury and the safe vault containing the treasury money. They decided not to take away the other rifles kept inside the Police Station but could collect more than one thousand rupees kept in the iron box there.[16]

Though the residential quarters of the Police Officers and the Police barracks were situated nearby, no one could get any hint of the happenings inside the Police Station during the time of operation. But soon after, when they made few blank fires, raised slogans in the name of Gandhiji, *Prajamandal* etc, sang patriotic songs in chorus, not only the Police men, but also the inhabitants of the locality had to rush to the spot. The serenity of the dawn was surcharged with commotion. The Police being unarmed, could not do anything to prevent such actions and were threatened to be killed unless they remained passive onlookers. Then the *Prajamandal* leaders announced the programme of action that all Government buildings, furniture, records and files would be burnt. The employees of the Government were given fifteen minutes time to vacate their dwellings. But the common people of Murhi, on the other hand, who had thronged there, were directed to participate only in the public meeting to follow subsequently. This was a very practical proposition. Though there was no dearth of sympathy and support, they were not allowed to join for fear of the group being unwieldy, which would hinder the operation to be carried on in a disciplined way. Again it was also feared that the

agents of the Government would enter the group and would help in capturing the leaders of the *Prajamandal*.

In the meantime, the 4 *sepoys* and *chowkidars* who were locked up inside the Police *hazat*, were released. The whole furniture of the Police Station, records and files were pulled together to form an excellent bon-fire. The entire Police Station was set ablaze with ease as the roof of the building was a thatched one. The Police personnel witnessed the whole proceedings as mute spectators and the civilian population, who were collected outside, lustily cheered their leaders; for they were markedly jubilant at the sudden turn of events.

This incident was soon followed by burning of all other Government offices in the town like Revenue, Tehesil, Forest, S.D.O'S office and the residential quarters of the employees. No Government records, files and furniture were spared. But while dealing with the residential quarters, the employees were given time to take out their own furniture and other belongings. The school buildings, hospital etc. were spared. By noon, when these activities were over, a public meeting was convened to chalk out the future course of action. In this meeting about ten thousand people from the surrounding villages participated.[17]

Then the party along with some 500 people of the surrounding villages left for the village Malpura, where they broke open the *Debottar* granary and distributed the paddy among the people. The records containing the names of persons, who had taken loans, were also destroyed. In the process, the *Prajamandal* succeeded in accelerating the pace of mass mobilisation and the traditional rural base of the ruler was eroded.

The headquarters of the State, located at Dhenkanal town, was about 22 miles away from Murhi. There was no easy means of communication between Murhi and the town, as it was rainy

season. The river Brahmani in between was in spate and it was difficult and time-consuming to go to the other side. As a result, the Ruler could not get the information about the violent incidents at Murhi immediately and the Police reinforcements could not be sent.

After the Murhi incident, the State Administration became thoroughly demoralised. And so, the Political Department had to come to the rescue of the Ruler and arrangements were made to nab Baishnab and his compatriots. The Political Agent also asked the neighbouring states like Keonjhar, Pallahara, Talcher, Hindol, Tigiria and Athagarh to cooperate with Dhenkanal in capturing the so-called miscreants.[18]

Baishnab Charan Patanaik and his party marched from village to village with Congress flags and drums and in the process collected large followings. In Palasuni *biso*, they raided chandpur Police Station on 2 September, 42. The Police Station and the *Tehesil* office were completely burnt down. However, in anticipation of the attack, the *thana-officer* had taken out arms and ammunitions and all Government records a day earlier.

During this period, information, at times fabricated and mischievous, completely unnerved the Ruler. The news about the decision of Baishnab and his group to attack the headquarters at Dhenkanal town on 5 September put him (the Ruler) at his wits' end.[19] He was absolutely panic-stricken when he received a copy of the pamphlet from the *Sarbarakar* of Biribali.[20] In this pamphlet Baishnab had asked every village to send one man from every family with weapons like guns, axes, bows and arrows etc to raid the Police station at Parjang . Further, he (Baishnab) exhorted the masses to act as per the *Quit-India* resolution and do their best for the attainment of the *Swaraj*. To bring the situation under control, heavy Police deployment was made at sensitive points and

Magistrates were posted at different places like Murhi, Parjang, Chandpur, Bhuban and Nihalparsad to tackle the problems.[21]

After Chandpur, the armed gang proceeded towards Parjang with the intention of burning down the Police Station there. The party of the agitators was divided into two at Kualo in order to ensure greater popular participation. One group proceeded towards Kandarsingha via Laupal led by Baishnab and the other moved in the same direction via Barihapur. It was decided that both the parties would meet at Kandarsingha from where they would march to Parjang. The strategy was to collect more crowd while passing through different villages. The members of the party armed with guns and other weapons were singing patriotic songs and raising slogans on the way. While marching through different villages, the number of persons following them swelled. By then the Police reinforcements had already arrived at Parjang. On 4 September, 42, on their way to Parjang, the party of Baishanab Charan Patanaik clashed with the Police force at the village Janhapara. During this encounter the party consisted of about 1,000 men.[22] Two persons, namely Bira Sahu of Toradanali and Benu Sahu of Kusumunda were shot dead and Baishnab himself sustained serious bullet injury.[23] Many people from both sides were injured in the process and others fled from the spot. Baishanab after being wounded critically sneaked to Cuttack along with a fellow-fighter Nabaghana Behera by name, and arrived at the secret hide-out of Surendranath Dwivedy in Alisha Bazar (Cuttack). Then he was suffering from high fever because of the gun-shot wound. He was given first-aid and was sent to Calcutta in the guise of a *marwari*. It was not safe for him to receive treatment at Cuttack for fear of being caught by the Police. Thereafter, he absconded for four years till 1946.

On the very next day of the Janhapara incident, on 5 September, a party led by Debaraj Patra set fire to the police out-post and the beat-house of the Forest Department at Gangutia.[24]

The choice of Murhi and the Parjang area as the bull's eye was tactical.[25] The distance from the headquarters, the inconvenient communications, and above all, the suddenness of the action had put the State-administration in a quandary. For a short spell, confusion had engulfed that part of the State. The brain behind these activities was Baishnab Charan Patnaik. It was he, who had mooted the idea and mobilised the people into action. He was inspired by Gandhiji's call of "*Do or Die*" and the torrent of repression unleashed by the Government engendered in him a spirit of revolt.[26] It gave the state-administration a rude shock.

After the exit of Baishnab from the scene the resistance became feeble. However, on 7 September, some 42 workers of the *Prjamandal* congregated secretly at Manikamara forest to decide the future course of action. They were led by persons like Debaraj Patra, Arjun Sahu, Kishori Pradhan , Balakrushna Dalai etc. They kept themselves concealed in the forest and carried on their operation. On 5 October, a revenue camp at Kandhar was attacked by them. In the last week of November, they raided villages likes Kushia, Pathargarh, and Badasahi to punish those people who were instrumental for the arrest of the four prominent associates of Baishnab namely, Musa Mallick, Ananda Swain Anukula Sahu and Baidhar Swain.

Punitive measures The outbreak of the disturbances had blatantly exposed the gross mismanagement of the administrative set-up in the state. The Ruler had lost his grip over the administration. He was visibly nonplussed on receiving the news of the Murhi incident and had flayed his chief Minister and the Commissioner of Police for their laxity in handling the affairs.[27] He also blamed the Chief Minister for insisting on the release of Baishnab Charan Patnaik in April, 1942, from his detention under the D.I.R. He even had suspected the District and Sessions judge

for having a secret link with the agitators and conspiring against the administration.[28] The reason of such a notion was that the judge had acquitted Baishnab from the alleged charges of *dacoity*, mischief, looting etc,[29] naturally a false case instituted against him by the State. He had expressed his own quandary to the Assistant Political Agent in a letter, *"I am barking like a dog, but no body cares to carry out one order."*[30] The State officials were also panic-stricken at the sudden turn of events.

Soon after the incident the Political Department came to the rescue of the Ruler. The Political Agent and the Assistant Political Agent rushed to Dhenkanal and supervised the reprisal measures. The A.P.A had advised the Ruler regarding the course of action to be taken, like (i) arrest and the speedy trial of the ring leaders, (ii) the imposition of collective fines over all the guilty villages and collection with the help of Magistrates backed by Police and (iii) the ban of processions and meetings in the State.[31]

Police forces were deployed at different parts of the state, specially in the villages of Murhi, Parjang and Bhuban, *"to infuse fear, if not loyalty, into the people"*.[32] Magistrates were also posted at sensitive places. They were instructed to gather information and to keep an eye on the people. Pamphlets were also distributed by the publicity Department exhorting the people not to join the movement. Aeroplanes were hired to distribute the leaflets from above and this created a tremendous sense of panic among the people. Necessary orders were issued to withdraw all guns from the people. Night Police patrols were arranged. Raids were conducted in different villages for arresting the leaders.

The State administration issued a new order *"Dhenkanal State resumption of Lakhiraj Rights order"* to keep off the *Lakhirajdars* from joining the movement. According to this notification, the state administration might, in addition to the collective fines on the inhabitants, order resumption of *Lakhiraj* rights in that area.[33]

The Dhenkanal state organised a co-operation meeting on 20 December, 42, at Motanga in which representatives from the neighbouring States like Hindol, Talcher, Athamallik, Pallahara, and Keonjhar attended.[34] It was agreed at this meeting to constitute a *special task* force for pursuing the arrest of the absconders like Baishnab and his group.

The State administration then pursued terrible repressive measures. Up to 13 September, 1942, the total amount of collective fines imposed over a number of villages amounted to Rs. 56,300/-.[35] It had little or no connection with the capacity of the villages to pay nor with their land revenue payments.[36] The villages which were penalised, mostly spread over Murhi and Parjang area. By October, 42, the amount of fines realised, was about Rs. 40,000/-.[37] Coercive measures were applied in collecting the fines. Houses of the leaders were razed, properties confiscated, men, women and children were indiscriminately assaulted. *Damol*, a village in the Murhi area was severely dealt with.[38] Also in the village Parjang, the house of Maheswar Subahusingh, one of the most prominent leaders of the *Prajamandal* was pulled down by the elephants[39] and the inhabitants of the village were also inhumanly treated. Intensive searches were made to apprehend the absconders. Cash awards were announced for capturing them. A notice of the administration issued on 18 September, 42, proclaimed Rs. 3,200/- for Baishnab Charan Patanaik. The State rewarded a sum of Rupees 300/- to the villagers of Kushia for helping in the arrest of four associates of Baishnab, namely Musa Mallick, Ananda Swain, Anukula Sahu and Baidhar Swain.[40] Out of them, three were awarded the sentences of death and Baidhar Swain as he was a young boy, was given six-years' imprisonment. Subsequently, the death sentences were relaxed to life imprisonment. Some other participants of the Murhi incident, namely Padmanav Sahu, Kulamani Pradhan, Hadibandhu Parida, Tirtha Sahu, Raghuram Dehury,

Laxman Naik, Lochan Singh, Hare Krishna Sahu, Nabaghan Behera, Radhanath Bhutia, Sampadi Sahu etc. were also captured and given life imprisonment.[41] The agitation in Dhenkanal ended in the face of massive arrests and stringent repressive measures.

TALCHER

Talcher, a small princely State of Orissa responded gallantly to the call of Gandhiji during the *Quit India movement*. The State had the distinction of pursuing novel strategies to express its resentment against the prevalent misrule. During the active phase of the mass-movement in 1938-39 about one-third of the State's population staged exodus and took shelter in the neighbouring areas leaving their homes and hearths braving the inclemency of the weather to protest against the mal-administration and repression of the Ruler, who was propped up by his imperialist masters. This was the case of a protest in a typical Gandhian way of non-violence and self-mortification and by inflicting pain on themselves they tried to effect a change of heart in the authorities. But the *Quit-India movement* presented an altogether different image, a case of gallantry, bravery and sacrifice on the part of the people of Talcher. The aim of the peasant militia (*Krishak Sena*) by pursuing direct-action was to establish the sway of the new *Panchayat Government* over the-then existing administration in Talcher.

After the repatriation of the refugees from the neighbouring areas in the first-half of 1939, the Talcher-*Prajamandal* carried on constructive activities like village sanitation, prohibition and *Harijan* Welfare.

The head office of the *Prajamandal* was maintained at Angul but branches were opened in the nook and corner of Talcher. The village committees had looked after sanitation work in the areas under their jurisdiction and steps were taken to improve the village roads and to keep the ponds and wells clean. Prohibition work

was restricted to the avoidance of drinking of *Tari* (Juice extracted from date palm) and country liquor.[42] The *Prajamandal* had achieved a grand success in this respect as nearly 70% of the *Harijans* of Talcher then had given up this ruinous habit.[43] The *Prajamandal* also claimed to have achieved success to a certain degree in removing untouchability. *Pankti Bhojans*[44] were organised at different places.

On the other hand, after the return of the refugees, the state administration had demonstrated a revengeful attitude. The subjects did not get back their property that were looted or confiscated during the period of their absence. The administration had also evicted a number of *Sarbarakars* and dispossessed them of their *Vogra* lands. The Ruler turned a deaf ear to the repeated appeals and prayers of *Sarbarakars*. On examination of the connected records it was found that as many as 45 *Sarbarakars* were evicted for violation of the terms of the agreement.[45] Out of all these evictions, the order of the State administration, in respect of 34 *Sarbarakars*, had been arbitrary and not covered by the principle of equity and justice.[46] Also during the period of exodus, some village servants like *Dhobis* (washerman), Barber, *Panias* (water carriers), *Chowkidars* etc. had served the refugees in the camps. They were, in the opinion of the administration, disloyal and were evicted from their *jagir* lands.

Again far from slackening the stringency of the forest rules, the State administration stiffened them farther in various ways.[47] The small forests near the villages, which were used as grazing grounds and from which the people used to collect fuel, leaves, vegetables etc, in the pre-agitation period, were declared as reserved ones. This had created a great deal of trouble for many whose cattle were unavoidably driven to be grazed there and who were bound to enter the same for collecting the daily household necessaries. The violation of the forest rules entailed penalties of

fines. More so, the peculiar pronouncements by the State of prohibiting the use of the roads by the bullock carts and cattle of the subjects had worsened the situation.[48] And the unavoidable compulsion of violating the rules had resulted in punishments mostly in the form of fines.

Further, the *Prajamandal* workers were very often harassed, because cases mostly fabricated, were filed against them by the agents of the Ruler.[49] Approaches and petitions by the subjects against the state of affairs were of no avail and the state officials viewed the same as the pusillanimity of the *Prajamandal* in particular and of the subjects in general. It was evident that the administration did not want the restoration of the peaceful atmosphere in the state. Over and above, the administration had instituted certificate cases for the realisation of arrear land rents from the defaulting persons, the vast majority of whom were leading a precarious existence because of the shortfall of crops. It was no wonder, that under such circumstances the people lost all confidence in the State administration. They had resolved in a public meeting held under the auspices of the *Prajamandal* at Kosala (Angul) on 20 August, 1940 that the state Judiciary and the Executive be made independent of the Ruler.[50] The Political Department was requested to withdraw the judicial and the executive powers from the Ruler and to keep the same either under the control of the popular representatives or under a *Dewan* directly appointed by the Political Department and independent of the Ruler.[51]

Excessive rain in the early part of 1940 followed by drought in the same year caused the destruction of paddy and other seasonal crops in the state. There prevailed near famine conditions and the people suffered much from this. The *Prajamandal* urged upon the state administration and the Political Department to set up an impartial Inquiry Committee to assess the quantity of the crops destroyed and suggest remedies. The *Prajamandal* also

demanded the remission of land revenue and introduction of relief works. But neither the State administration nor the Political Department showed any concern. As a result, the people elected a non-official Inquiry Committee to delve deep into the problem and report to the Political Department for consideration and necessary action. Madanmohan Pradhan was elected chairman of the Committee and Dasarathi Pani, Maguni Charan Pradhan and Gouri Sankar Pradhan, members.[52] All of them were the prominent leaders of the *Prajamandal*. The Committee began its work in November 1940, visiting the damaged crop fields from village to village.

Being informed of the activities of the Committee, the Assistant Political Agent also had paid a visit to the State to study the situation. The President of the *Prajamandal*, Pabitramohan Pradhan met him on 14 November, 1940, to discuss the crop situation and accompanied him for spot inquiry The State tried to manipulate the actual quantity and the extent of crops destroyed by taking the A.P.A to the less affected areas.[53] As the State was not prepared to grant any remission of rent, it (state) did not like the idea of the *Prajamandal* leaders moving along with the A.P.A.[54] With this in view, the State officials strongly objected to Pabitramohan's opinion as to the exact quantity of the loss of crops of a specific plot of land and tried to influence the Political officer with their majority opinion. Then ensued a hot exchange of words as the President of the *Prajamandal* challenged their assertion. The A.P.A not only declined to accompany the President of the *Prajamandal* in his tour, but also refused to see the Committee (unofficial) that was working for the same purpose. However, the Committee went on with its work.

Being annoyed with their activities, the A.P.A instructed the State administration to arrest the Committee members.[55] The State Police arrested all the members of the Committee on

27 November, 1940. The President of the *Prajamandal*, Pabitramohan Pradhan, who was then in the British area of Angul, was arrested on 30 November, 1940, under extradition warrants. False charges under the D.I.R were framed against them. As the President and the office bearers of the *Prajamandal* had been arrested, the second line of leadership took over and it was decided to defend the case. Accordingly, a pleader from British Orissa was appointed to defend the accused as there was no pleader in the State.

The entire judicial process was an eye-wash and the conviction of the accused was a foregone conclusion. The object of the administration in framing false and concocted cases against the *Prajamandal* activists was only to harass and oppress them, so that they would be compelled under the circumstances to give up the *Prajamandal* work.[56] When false charges were brought, people either for safety or as a mark of protest, left the State for British area. The administration had taken a vindictive stance. One Sudhakar Rath, a prominent leader of the *Prajamandal* had left the State in December, 1940, in protest and had filed petitions to the Political Adviser of the Viceroy stating his grievances and pointing out the defects and misdeeds of the administration.[57] To secure his presence in the State a warrant under section 124-A (sedition) of the I.P.C was served on him on 28 February, 1941, and simultaneously the State attached and sealed all his property. His family of twenty members including his brother were expelled from their home and the whole property worth Rs. 10,000/- was taken over by the State.

After the arrest of the leaders of the *Prajamandal* in November, 1940, a second line of leadership comprising mostly youth, had emerged. Prominent among them were Krutibas Rath, Bichhand Chandra Pradhan, Ananda Chandra Pradhan, Kalandi Chandra Pradhan, Pabitra Behera, Kasinath Samantarai, Sudarsan Pradhan, Maheswar Pradhan, Dukhabandhu Sahu, Firingi Pradhan, Kalia Das,

Madan Sundar Pradhan, Parsuram Pradhan, Baikuntha Sahu etc.[58] A new executive committee of the *Prajamandal* was formed in January, 1941,[59] with Kalandi Pradhan as President, Krutibas Rath and Bichhand Chandra Pradhan, Joint Secretaries, Kasinath Samantrai, the Treasurer and the absconder, Gouri Sankar Pradhan, as the Adviser. The new team of office bearers worked most efficiently during this period in spearheading the agitation in Talcher.

In the meantime, in a bid to reduce the tension prevailing in the State, the administration released Pabitra Mohan Pradhan from jail on 29 January, 1942, but restricted his movement to the municipal area of Talcher town.[60] But as his release did not produce the desired result (from the administrative point of view), he was again put into custody on 26 March, 1942. His release for a short period and re-arrest had generated a sense of suspicion in the minds of the people.[61] Rumours were afloat of his possible murder inside the jail and the common people grew restive.

Quit India Movement : Finally the Quit India Movement of August, 1942, had provided a suitable outlet for the outburst of the pent-up energies. The local cause for this rising was the mal-administration of the State coupled with the brutal and revengeful suppression of the *Prajamandal* activists.[62] But the ostensible cause that inflamed the situation was the rumour of murder of Pabitramohan Pradhan, the most prominent figure of the time.[63]

In spite of heavy precautionary measures, Pabitramohan made his escape from the State jail on 31 August, 1942.[64] With the help of his co-political prisoners, who had formed a human pyramid, he could manage to cross over the high compound wall of the jail. After his escape, the Government failed to trace him. The declaration by the administration about his escape from prison was interpreted differently. The common people believed that he was actually killed inside the jail.

The agitation in Talcher was stray and sporadic from 9 August, 1942, the day on which the Congress leaders throughout India were put behind bars. But it assumed a mass character from 1 September, after the spread of the rumour of murder of pabitramohan. It continued till 15 September, 1942.[65]

As no information was made available about Pabitramohan, the Office bearers of the *Prajamandal* shared the common belief that he had been killed secretly by the authorities. Under such circumstances, on 2 September, 1942 an emergency meeting of the *Prajamandal* was held at Paniola (Angul).[66] It was decided to liberate Talcher from the clutches of the Ruler and his British imperialist masters by launching *Direct-action* on 6 September, 42. Bichhand Chandra Pradhan was appointed *Dictator* for the said purpose. The attack of the palace was to be made at midnight of 6 September, '42. On 3 September, a general body meeting of the *Prajamandal* was organised at Kumunda, where the proposal of direct action was endorsed and establishment of a parallel Government of the Peasants, was decided.[67]

After his escape, Pabitramohan, in disguise, had landed in the north-eastern border of Talcher and so could not be able to establish any contact with the *Prajamandal* leaders. He kept himself concealed in the Tisimali jungle of Dhenkanal beyond the Talcher boundary. Then with the intention of meeting the *Prajamandal* leaders, he settled himself over a hill top situated between the villages of Poipal and Titirima of Talcher.[68] Messages were sent to different places and some of the leaders of the *Prajamandal* met him secretly on 5 September, 1942.[69]

Though he personally felt the undesirability of pursuing any hasty venture on the part of an ill-organised and unarmed people against the well-equipped armed forces of the Ruler (amply aided by the British Government), Pabitramohan, taking cognizance of

the impatience and the uncontrollable spirit of the masses at that moment, preferred to remain tight-lipped.[70] Even the office bearers of the *Prajamandal* were very much in a bad temper. Pabitramohan's intention was to paralyse the State administration by launching "*Guerilla warfare*" on a latter date (Preferably after 15 September), after necessary preparations and then to establish a parallel Government of the people.[71] But the situation was such that any one obstructing the scheme of *direct action* would be branded as a reactionary.[72] To acquiesce in the proposal of 'direct action' was rather opportunistic on his part. At that moment, he also suffered from disabilities and handicaps. He could not afford to come to the forefront. The State administration had announced handsome rewards for presenting him either live or dead.[73] So his exposure was sure to entail his arrest. And again, if the people had come to know that their leader was alive and not dead, then their revengeful spirit to wage a war against the administration would surely have dampened to a great degree. In the process the plan of establishing a peasant Government would have been scotched.

Mass Mobilisation : For all practical purposes, the Ruler's administration had collapsed from 31 August, 1942.[74] *Prajamandal* committees were formed at the village, block, *pragana*, and the sub-division level A central authority was also constituted on the same basis and no vestige of the State power was allowed to exist. The Village headmen, *Chowkidars*, School teachers, Block officers and officers of the Police, Excise and Revenue Departments stationed at different sub-centres of the State surrendered voluntarily to those locally constituted authorities and owed their allegiance to the *Prajamandal*.[75]

The *Garhnaik* (headman) of the village Seepur was attacked and murdered by the people for not rendering allegiance to the new system.[76] Certain opportunist pro-ruler elements, who

wanted to cross over to the side of the *Prajamandal* were allowed to do so on payment of heavy fines.[77] The Government Offices and the residential quarters of the employees situated in different parts of the State were attacked and set ablaze.

To consolidate the new *Panchayat administration* and to keep itself free from extraneous interference, the communication system was totally disrupted. The telegraphic link was cut-off. The Cuttack-Talcher railway tracks were destroyed. The three rural Police stations and the sub-divisional headquarters at Kania were captured. Thus leaving aside a small area comprising the Talcher Town (the headquarters of the Ruler), in all other places the administration was controlled by the *Prajamandal*.

Soon after its formation, the *New Government* constituted its volunteer army and called it the *Krisak-Sena* (Peasant militia) which was equipped with all types of crude arms and implements, that were found in the villages. The gunpowder magazine and dynamite stores of the local collieries together with a good number of guns were available to the service of the people.[78] The militia consisted of all able bodied persons of the State. Bichhanda Chandra Pradhan was appointed as the Commander-in-Chief of the militia and was to be assisted by two deputies under him. The aim of the volunteer army was to establish the predominance of the *New Government* throughout Talcher. It intended to tell the Ruler to sever the British connection and to hand over the powers to the *Prajamandal* and himself acting only as the constitutional head.[79]

With this purpose, the Peasant militia marched from each village towards Talcher town on 6 September, 1942.[80] They were equipped with all sorts of crude implements like country guns, swords, shields, spears, arrows, bows, axes, spades, spikes, hammers, *lathis*. kerosene, petroleum, jute-rags etc. They also

carried with them dry food, at least for three days. But they made it a point not to use arms unnecessarily, until and unless they were attacked. But they were (Peasant militia) held up and thus movement was obstructed because of the incessant rain and heavy floods on the way and could not work out the original plan of besieging the town on the midnight of 6 September, '42. With much difficulty, the peasant militia numbering around ten thousand managed to encamp on the next day (7 September) in a thick mango grove and then surrounded the town in a semi circle. On the other hand, to combat the situation the Political Department came to the rescue of the Ruler. A contingent of British military force and reinforcements from the Eastern States' joint Police force were deployed. The aircraft was systematically engaged from 4 September, 1942, in dropping gas bombs, tear gas shells and pamphlets throughout the length and breadth of the State with the intention of creating a fear psychosis in the minds of the people. But the purpose seemed defeated as the entire exercise did not deter the people from proceeding towards the town. While marching, slogans like '*Bharat Chhodo*' (Quit India), '*Karo Kimba Maro*' (Do or die) etc., rent the air and the sound of conch-shells, '*Nagra*' (war drum), '*Veri and Singha*' (war pipes) rendered the rattling of the aeroplanes inaudible and ineffective.

Just opposite to the lines and camps of the peasant militia encircling the Talcher town, were arrayed the mighty force of the Ruler. In between the two armies was left a streak of land nearly three furlong in width as buffer land over which the aeroplanes were most active.

Thus, when the battle line was drawn, some of the highly placed officers of the Ruler initiated negotiations with the people.[81] The militia also had endeavoured to negotiate with the Ruler for

transferring power to the newly constituted peoples' body, with the Ruler himself acting as the constitutional head free from imperialist control.[82] But all these attempts at settlement ended in a fiasco, as the Ruler refused to coöperate. When all the efforts of negotiation failed, the peasant militia went ahead with its plan of capturing *Nijgarh,* the seat of the Ruler. They attempted to break-through the enemy line. The instant result was the opening of fire on the masses by the armed forces from behind the smoke walls created by bombs dropped from the plane. The aircraft was also engaged in firing on the people from above. "***Talcher was one of the five places in India, where in 1942 the masses were machine-gunned from the air because of the intensity of the movement.***[83] Thus, being bombarded from all directions, blinded by tear gas shells and choked and suffocated with smoke, the peasant militia were perplexed for a moment. Thoroughly panic-stricken, they dispersed helter-skelter. They were chased for miles together.

The firing incident on the afternoon of 7 September, 42, had resulted in the spot death of 4 persons and more than 100 were wounded. The persons who attained martyrdom, were Basudev Sahu and Krutarth Pradhan of Danara, Bhagaban Sahu of Handidhua and Bhajana Naik of Brahman behal.[84] Over 300 persons were arrested from the spot and from the neighbouring villages.

Punitive Measures : From the very next day of the incident the State authorities had pursued a systematic show of force to terrify the people. For some days continuously the aeroplane flew overhead dropping tear gas shells and pamphlets, while the armed forces marching from village to village resorted to plundering and looting the same. The villages were deserted by the inhabitants, who took shelter in the neighbouring British sub-division of Angul or in the jungles.

Looting and arson of the villages were systematically conducted on the instruction of the State Administration. Men, women and children, if found in the villages were assaulted and mercilessly dealt with. For nearly one month, the punitive and retaliatory measures were carried on.[85]

The State Administration had promulgated an ordinance dated 8 September, 42, imposing collective fines on 35 villages, as the inhabitants of those villages were concerned in the commission of offences prejudicially affecting the smooth running of the State administration and were also reported to have taken active parts in the destruction of railway lines, telephone and telegraph links, bridges, culverts etc. On the strength of this ground the State ordered a levy of Rupees 25,000/- on 35 villages. The minimum amount that a person was asked to pay was equal to the amount of his annual land rent.[86] But in most cases, there were unauthorised collections from the subjects much higher than their annual land rent.[87] As such collection of fines was not backed by any receipts, there was no difficulty in exacting a higher amount. The collective fine at that time was popularly known as "*Tinguna Jorimona*" or fines realised three times of the rent and the *Sarbarakars*, subsequently examined, also said that they had realised the fines according to that principle.[88] The *Sarbarakars* also agreed that they were not granted any receipts of the fine by the collecting officers.

The *Prajamandal* had alleged that over and above these 35 villages, collective fines had been further realised from another 81 villages and the amount of fines mentioned in the record did not reflect the real sums that had been imposed on and realised from those villages.[89] The *Prajamandal* had pointed out that from 118 villages, Rupees 79,038-5-2 were collected and the figure had exceeded by more than two times than the figure available from

the State record.[90] The realisation of such fines was also accompanied by looting and plundering of the villages by the parties entrusted with the task. Besides collective fines, the State imposed fines upon individuals who were either connected with *Prajamandal* activities or were at least its sympathisers. The State confiscated the property of 25 *Prajamandal* workers.[91] The activists were also victimised with long term imprisonments and heavy fines and some of them left the State.

Last phase of the movement : After the dispersal of the peasant militia on 7 September, 42, most of the leaders met Pabitra Mohan Pradhan in his secret hide-out and discussed with him the future course of action.[92] Judging from different angles, it was decided to shun the policy of direct confrontation with the State armed forces. But a secret armed-squad was organised, which constituted a number of gun-men. Their duty was to protect innocent subjects as far as possible from the oppression of the administration by waging *guerilla-warfare*. Then all the prominent members of the *Prajamandal* were advised to abscond. Pabitra mohan himself left the State in disguise for Bihar and Bengal to establish contact with other Indian leaders.

Despite the formation of the secret "*guerilla-squad*" the oppression of the State administration continued unabated. The members of the secret squad used to keep themselves concealed during the day time, and at night they moved from village to village giving succour to the affected persons. Their presence in the villages was a source of encouragement and inspiration to the inmates, who were then demoralised. Their *modus op-er-andi* was to effect sudden attack on the officers and other agents of the administration, who were instrumental in perpetrating oppression in the State. Punishment, both physical and financial, was inflicted upon them. The secret squad operated successfully at least for eight months.[93]

Only towards the latter part of May, 1943, the State administration could come to know the where-abouts and movements of the squad. The under ground militia had its headquarters in a jungle in Angul, bordering Talcher State. One particular night, when they were all asleep, the State forces nabbed them. Fires were exchanged and in a bloody encounter that ensued, the chief of the secret "*guerilla-squad*" Maheswar Pradhan of village Jarada and another member Padia Behera of Athamalik State, were Killed.[94] Some others like Firingi Pradhan, Mukunda Sahu, Kalia Das, Jadunath Pradhan etc were seriously wounded but could manage to flee from the place. This gave a death blow to the strength and stamina of the underground army. The secret squad was disbanded after that and its members took refuge in safe places.[95]

The number of prisoners exceeded 300.[96] They were very cruelly dealt with inside the jail and two prisoners died because of mal-treatment.[97] One of them was Rabindra Chandra Pradhan of village Langijoda, a IInd year student of Ravenshaw College, Cuttack and the other one was Baji Sethi of village Seepur. Some 30 *Prajamandal* workers had gone underground, some of whom were subsequently arrested.

NAYAGARH

Like some other States, *Prajamandal* was very active in Nayagarh and as a natural corollary, the relationship between the Ruler and the leaders (of *Prajamandal*) was far from cordial. There was large scale discontentment because of the failure of the Administration to fulfill the genuine grievances of the people. As a repressive measure, the prominent leaders of the *Prajamandal* like Sridhar Das, Banchhanidhi Senapati, Laxman Moharana, Sukra Behera, Udayanath Prusty, Narayan Nanda Baidher Mantri, etc.

were arrested under *Defence of India Act* On 19 July, 42.[98] This action was uncalled for and it worsened the situation still further.

When the *Quit India Movement* was launched the local causes of discontent got mixed up with the national cause and the people of Nayagarh responded wholeheartedly to the call of Gandhiji. As the recognised leaders of the *Prajamandal* had been taken into custody earlier, the common people every where in the State rose in revolt. Public meetings and processions against the local administration and the alien rule were organised at different places. The offices of the State administration and the Police Stations were attacked and in some places burnt.[99] People, in a fit of excitement, refused to accept the authority of the State-administration, which was propped up by the British and declared their Independence.

The State administration in its turn took severe repressive measures and leaders like Udaynath Prusty, Binayak Mishra, Bharat Sahu etc. were arrested. At Oadgaon leaders like Rama Chandra Mohanty, Arakhit Sahu etc. were caught by the Police while leading a big procession. At Lathipada while a public meeting was going on, the police attacked and arrested some persons. Some people were seriously injured by Police action. Leaders like Narasingha Nanda, Shyama Sunder Sahu, Bhagabat Jani, Kusia Pradhan, Laxmidhar Pradhan, Muli Pradhan etc. were taken into custody.

On 17 August, 42, *hartal* was observed at Nayagarh town and Oadgaon. The house of a local *Mahajan* Bhagban Choudhury was looted at Oadgaon. Simultaneously, the Police also pursued terrible repressive action. Indiscriminate assault on men, women and children was carried. The houses and shops of different persons were attacked by the Police. An octogenarian, Bhubaneswar Rayguru by name, was roughly treated (by the Police) as he protested against the Police brutality. Leaders like Lingaraj Das,

Nityananda Das, Dandapani Moharana, Narayan Upadhyaya, Kalia Choudhury etc were arrested. A reign of terror was unleashed.

On 28 September, 42, about 400 weavers, who were thrown out of employment because of the seizure of the spinning centre by the Police, met at Bolgarh (Puri District) to demonstrate before the S.D.O.[100] They condemned the action of the State-administration and demanded the opening of the Dighri "*Khadi Centre*". As a retaliatory measure, the State arrested some of the leaders. But the repressive measures did not deter them from resorting to *Satyagra* for the ventilation of their grievances. Finally the British Government intervened and issued direction to the State to reopen the spinning centre.

As the movement gathered momentum, *Prajamandal* workers from other States poured into Nayagarh in October, 1942.[101] The State, as a result, pursued a terrible repressive policy and arrested hundreds of innocent people. Properties of leaders were confiscated. Many people were injured in Police-action. Prominent leaders of the *Prajamandal* met secretly in the forest near Bahadajhola on 8 October, and took a decision to stage a *coup* in the State. They chalked out a plan as to how to depose the Ruler. The leaders who were instrumental in taking such a momentous decision were Ananda Chandra Swain, Sadasiva Sarangi, Laxman Sahu, Kanduri Parida, Purna Chandra Mallick etc. For effective mass mobilisation, they operated from four strategic villages like Godipada, Oadgaon, Bahadajhola and Barakola. On 9 October, some people under the leadership of Kanduri Parida destroyed the bungalow at Barakola. Also on the same night another group destroyed Khalmoda Police Station and Dimbiripalli Forest beat Office.

On 10 October, during the morning hours a large number of people including many *adivasis* assembled to attack the Police Station at Nuagaon. As it was natural, they were obstructed by the Police and in the process, the State armed Police opened fire to stop the forward march of the people. One person Kasti Dalua, an *adivasi* young man of Kusubida village was shot dead and nearly 50 persons were injured.[102] Those who were injured included Khetrabasi Parida, Bauribandhu Parida, and Mangu Guru. An old man Kanduri Parida and his son Budhi Parida were beaten to death inside the prison.[103]

During this period prominent leaders like Ananda Chandra Swain, Sadasiva Sarangi, Narayan Upadhyay, Purna Chandra Mallick etc operated from underground. Bahadajhola became the epicentre of the underground revolutionary activities. Popular leaders like Sudarsan Prusty, Laxman Sahu, Laxman Bhuyan (all from Bahadajhola) led about 2,000 people to seize Nayagarh town, the headquarters of the State administration. On the way, they set fire to the bungalow at Bodapanas and the school at HareKrishna Pur. As a natural corollary, the Police opened fire and unleashed a reign of terror in Bahadajhola area. The houses of the activists of the movement like Radha Krishna Mohapatra and Sudarsan Prusty were raided by the Police and the properties were taken away. Assault on men, women and children was carried on. As many as 73 persons along with prominent underground leaders like Ananda Chandra Swain and Narayan Upadhaya were convicted and put behind the bars. At different places, make-shift jails were opened to accommodate large number of arrested persons. Punitive tax was imposed on 22 villages. The prisoners inside the jail were also subjected to torture and as a result, a detainee Jaya Behera of village Thuabari lost his life. The State administration took all possible measures to stifle the [illegible] of the people.

NILGIRI

Nilgiri was the first among the princely States of Orissa to launch a mass movement in 1938 against the mal-administration (of the State) under the stewardship of Kailash Chandra Mohanty and Banamali Das. The intensity of the movement drew the attention of the Political Department. As a result of the interference of the-then Political Agent and the intermediary role played by the Congress leader H.K.Mahatab, some of the demands were conceded and the ruler has to recognise the *Prajamandal*.

When the *Quit India Movement* started in August, 1942, its impact was also felt in the State. The *Prajamandal* chalked out a massive agitational programme. It was decided to disrupt the communication system at different places by destroying the bridges, by setting fire to the Police Station at Brahmapur, stopping the ferry-service in the river Suna, burning the uniforms of the Police-personnel, and over-powering the police in case of any arrest of the activist etc.[104] Kailash Chandra Mohanty, the President of the *Prajamandal* convened a meeting of the prominent workers secretly and discussed the course of action with them. Some workers from the neighbouring areas like Soro and Bhadrak also participated in the meeting.[105] But on 12 August, the State Administration in a preemptive action arrested the principal leaders like Kailash Chandra Mohanty, Sarat Chandra Mohanty, Udayanath Birabar, Jogannath Panda etc. Another veteran leader, Banamali Das, the Secretary of the *Prajamandal* could not be taken into custody then, as he went underground. On the charge of creating trouble and conspiring against the State, a warrant of arrest was issued on 13 August against the *Prajamandal* leaders like Hadibandhu Raj, Pranabandhu Agasti and other 59 persons[106]. On the same day another activist Giridhari Panda, who had gone there from Cuttack, was detained under '*Defence of India Rules*" on the

charge of acting in the manner prejudicial to the efficient prosecution of the war.[107]

But despite the large scale detention and repressive measures, the situation did not improve and a second line of leadership emerged to mobilise the masses. Processions were led to the head-quarters from the rural areas shouting anti-British and anti-Ruler slogans. The State employees were asked to tender resignation and were threatened of social-boycott in case of non-compliance. *Hartals* were observed and the situation went out of control. As a result, the Political Agent and the Assistant Political Agent rushed to Nigiri and on their advice, 11 Political leaders (who were in custody) were released.[108] But after their release, they escaped and kept on fomenting trouble from outside the State. Then the assistance of the joint armed Police force was requisitioned to tackle the situation.[109] The people tried to seize the "*Raj-palace*" In police action two persons namely, Raghu Naik and Ganga Mallick were killed and many more injured.

The situation did not improve and ultimately the *Raja* of Nilgiri was divested of the ruling powers (November, 42 to 46) and sent to Ranchi in November, 42. Collective fines amounting to Rs.78, 154-00 were first imposed by the ruler, but they were reduced to Rs,35, 123-00 later on.[110]

In spite of a split in *Prajamandal* (into communist and non-communist factions), the people remained in a challenging position with anti-Ruler and anti-British agitation. The administration could not be able to accrue the slightest advantage of the political cleavage among the patriotic forces.

ATHGARH

The echo of the movement was heard in the small princely State of Athagarh. Mass meetings and protest demonstrations were organised. The arrest of the Congress leaders was

condemned. The leaders of the *Prajamandal* like Braja Kishore Patanaik, Nanda Kishore Patnaik, Achyutananda Das, Bibekananda Rath, Khetrabasi Subudhi, Mayadhar Das, Duryodhan Jena etc. spearheaded the movement in the State. On 17 August, prominent leaders like Braja Kishore Patnaik, Mayadhar Das, Bibekananda Rath etc. were arrested for subversive activities. On similar charges others like Achutananda Das, Khetrabasi Subudhi, Gopal Sahani etc. were taken into custody on 7 September, 42. The noted *Prajamandal* leader Radhanath Rath was arrested at Cuttack.

MAYURBHANJ

Prajamandal was organised in 1939 under the leadership of Sarat Chandra Das and the people of Mayurbhanj got themselves acquainted slowly with the process of political agitation. He (Sarat Chandra Das) attended the AISPC (All India States People's Conference) Session held at Bombay in 1942 and was subsequently arrested in the State. The *Prajamandal* of Mayurbhanj convened a meeting on 16 August 42, at Amarda (then under Betanoti Police Station). Though the weather was inclement that day because of the incessant rain, around ten thousand people congregated there and supported the *Quit India resolution* of the Congress.[111] Again another meeting was organised at Khunta in which around twenty thousand people participated and from that place they marched in a procession to Udala.[112] The *Prajamandal* strongly protested against the Government decision of out-lawing the Congress organization.

During the period of the *Quit-India Movement,* several public meetings were convened by the *Prajamandal* at different places like Betnoti, Amarda, Khunta, Udala etc. and the people expressed their solidarity with the Congress and disenchantment with the alien rule. They carried on picketings in front of the excise shops

and the markets (*Hatas*) were boycotted for sometime during the period. Some *adivasis* like Rohidas Majhi, Mahesh Singh, Kirti Singh, Kailash Singh, Bhagban Khilar etc. also participated in the movement.

Other States : Also the tremor of the *Quit-India Movement* was felt in other States like Baramba, Boud, Khandapara, Narasinghpur, Ranpur, Sonepur etc. Protest meetings were organised, *hartals* observed, communication links destroyed, people resorted to no-tax campaign and at some places the Government offices were burnt. As usual the State-administration pursued vigorously the policy of repression to scotch the peoples' movement. By the order of the Government of Bihar. Bijoy Kumar pani, a noted freedom fighter, was arrested at Seraikella.

Reaction of the Political Department : The Political Department had taken a serious note of the outbreak of the disturbances in the States, particularly at a time of the global war and threatened invasion. It showed deep concern in quelling them promptly. Necessary directives were sent to the State administration. High officials had rushed to the States to help the administration and to co-ordinate action against the disturbances in the interest of the internal security of the agency as a whole and ultimately that of the entire country.[113] As the representatives of the British Government, their duty was to support the State administration, *"in suppressing its enemies in pursuance of the treaties executed by the Durbar with the crown"*.[114] The unrest in these States, the Political Department viewed, was never intrinsically serious and could always be easily suppressed with troops according to the need of the moment. To deal with the situation effectively and for bringing about pacification, a line of action was suggested by the Political Agent to Dhenkanal in the form of a chart as given below.[115]

Pacification

Punishment — Conciliation

Raids	Collection of fines	Trials	Propaganda	Redress of grievances	Organisation and rewards for loyalists.

The unrest in 1942 erupted as a sequel to the *Quit India Movement*. It was sudden in its approach and fizzled out very soon. Grievances of the people in the States remained unattended. The main reason of its failure was that the imperialist Government did not leave any stone unturned to suppress the movement because of the war crisis. In spite of this, the Orissan States contributed gallantly to the growth of the freedom movement in India.

***

Notes and References :

1. S. Gopal (*ed.*), *Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, Vol.XII (New Delhi, 1976) Chap-8,No.9.
2. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 11 October, 1942.
3. *ibid.*
4. Dhenkanal State Gazette, 11 August, 1942
5. Notification No.152, Dhenkanal State, 16 August, 1942.
6. *ibid.*
7. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 11 October, 42.
8. *ibid.*
9. *Jatayu* (Oriya-fort nightly), 15 August, 1985.
   Besides Baishnab Charan Patanaik, the other members of the gang were (1) Musa Mallick (2) Ananda Swain, (3) Baidhar Swain, (4)

Kulamani Pradhan, (5) Padmanava Sahu, (6) Anukula Sahu, (7) Hare Krishna Sahu of Kandarsingha, (8) Harekrushna Sahu of Mohabirod, (9) Nabaghan Behera, (10) Radhanath Bhutia, (11) Sampadi Sahu, (12) Dibakar Biswal (13) Tirtha Sahu, (14) Lakshman Naik, (15) Jayadev Sahu, (16) Lochan Singh, (17) Raghunath Dehury, (18) Kishore Chandra Pradhan.

10. *Dhenkanal disturbances of 1942*, written by Raghuram Dehury, a participant in the movement (manuscript), collected from Baishnab Charan Patanaik of Dhenkanal.
11. Manuscript of Sampadi Sahu, a fighter, collected from Baishnab Charan Patanaik.
12. Manuscript of Nabaghana Behera, collected from Baishnab Charan Patanaik.
13. *ibid.*
14. Manuscript of Bhagirathi Sahu, collected from Baishnab Charan Patanaik.
15. *Jatayu*, 15 August, 1985.
16. *ibid.*
17 *ibid.*, 31 august, 1985.
18. Political Agent, Orissa States to Secretary to Resident, Eastern States.
(Dhenkanal Situation Report) No.457/T dated 29 August, 1942.
F.No. P-1-26/1946, Accession No.1026 'S', O S A, Bhubaneswar.
19. Ruler of Dhenkanal to Resident, Eastern States.
(Dhenkanal Situation Report) No.420-p/42 dated 2nd/3rd September, 1942,
ibid.
20. Same to Same
No.428-P/42 dated 4 September, 42,
ibid.
21. *ibid.*
22. *Jatayu*, 31 August, 1985.
23. *ibid.*
24. *Amrita Bazar Patrika.*, October, 1942

25. B.C.Rath, *Unrest in Princely States of Orissa, Dhenkanal and Talcher (1938-47)*, (Cuttack, 1993), p.246.
26. Personal interview with Baishnab Charan Patanaik.
27 Ruler of Dhenkanal to Political Agent, Orissa States. No.404-P/42 Dated 29 August, 1942. F.No. P-1-26/1946, Accession No. 1026 'S' OSA, Bhubaneswar.
28. Same to Same D.O.No. 947-p/42, 14 September, 1942. *ibid.*
29. *ibid.*
30. Ruler of Dhenkanal to Assistant Political Agent, No, 1026/27 Dated 27 August, 1942 *ibid.*
31 Asst Political Agent to Ruler of Dhenkanal, D.O.No.DHB/1, dated 27 August,1942 *ibid.*
32. Political Agent to Secretary to the Resident (secret) No.457/7 dated 29 August, 1942. *ibid.*
33. *Dhenkanal State Gazette* (Extraordinary), 14 September, 1942.
34. Ruler of Dhenkanal to Political Agent, Orissa States. (Secret) No. 715-P/42 Dated 21 December, 1942. F.No.P-1-26/1946, Accession No.1026 'S' OSA, Bhubaneswar.
35. Assistant Political Agent to the Ruler of Denekanal, No.T.C.287/42 dated 16 September, 1942. *ibid.*
36. Tour Report of APA, No.T.C/288/42 Dated 15 September. 42. *ibid.*
37. Ruler of Dhenkanal to Political Agent. D.O.No 569-P/42 Dated 4 October, 1942. *ibid.*
38. B.K.Dhal, "*Bhulibu Nahin*" (Cuttack, 1980), pp.104-105.
39. *ibid.*
40. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 11 October, 1942.
41 B.K. Dhal, *op.cit*, p.104.

42. F.No.164 (Talcher State 1938-47).
AISPC Papers NMML, New Delhi.
43. *ibid.*
44. Community dining in which the persons of the upper caste and *Harijans* took part sitting side by side in the same row.
45. Administrator of Talcher to Chief Administrator and Special Commissioner, Orissa States, Cuttack, No.G/1114 dated 14 May, 1948. (Enclosure-Report of S.N. Sharma, Senior State Officer) Subdivisional office record room, Talcher.
46. *ibid.*
47. F.No.164,
AISPC Papers NMML, New Delhi.
48. *ibid.*
49. *ibid.*
50. *ibid.*
51. Resolutions passed on the second anniversary celebration of the *Prajamandal* of Talcher state, 6 September, 1940.
ibid
52. *ibid.*
53. Statement of Pabitramohan Pradhan in the Court of Special First Class Magistrate.
Criminal case No.74 of 1940-41 (State versus Pabitramohan Pradhan)
Sub divisional office record room, Talcher.
54. *ibid.*
55. File No,164,
AISPC Papers, NMML, New Delhi.
56. *ibid.*
57. *ibid.*
58. *Talcher Prajamandal (Congress) ra Itihasa* (Oriya), Talcher Prajamandal Itihasa Committee (Cuttack, 1950), p.42.
59. *ibid.*
60. *ibid.*, p.45.
61. *ibid.*, p.46.
62. F.No 164,
AISPC Papers, NMML, New Delhi.

63. *ibid.*
64. Pabitra Mohan Pradhan, *Mukti Pathe Sainik*, pt.1 (Cuttack, 1979), p.107
65. F.No.164, AISPC papers.
66. *Talcher Prajamandal (Congress) ra itihasa*, p.49.
67 Pabitra Mohan Pradhan, *op.cit.*, p.125.
68. *ibid.*
69. *Talcher Prajamandal (Congress) ra itihas*, p.50.
70. *ibid.*
71. Pabitra Mohan Pradhan, *op.cit.*, p.129.
72. *Talcher Prajamandal (Congress) ra itihasa*, p.51.
73. Pabitra Mohan Pradhan, *op.cit.*,p.131.
74. *ibid.* p.134.
75. *ibid.* p.135.
76. *ibid.*
77. *ibid*, p.136
78. F.No.164, AISPC papers.
79. *ibid.*
80. *ibid.*
81. Pabitra Mohan Pradhan, *op.cit.*, p.137.
82. F.No.164, AISPC papers.
83. *Proceedings of the Council of state Debates*, Vol. II, 1942 (25, September, 1942) pp. 163-164.
84. *Talcher Prajamandal (Congress) ra itihasa*, pp.64-65.
85. Pabitra Mohan Pradhan, *op.cit.*, p.142.
86. F.No.164, AISPC papers.
87. *ibid.*
88. Administrator of Talcher to Chief-Administrator and Special Commissioner, Orissa States, Cuttack, No.G/1114, Dated 14 May, 1948.
Sub-divisional officer record room, Talcher.
89. *ibid.*
90. *ibid.*
91. F.No.164, AISPC papers.
92. *Prajamandal (Congress) ra itihasa*, p.58.

93. *ibid.*
94. *ibid.*
95. *ibid.*
96. F.No.164, AISPC papers.
97 *ibid.*
98. S.N Patanaik, Odisare Swadhinata Andolan (Cuttack,1972), p.179.
99. *ibid.*
100. WWCC, Accession No.30, OSA.
101. *ibid.*
102. S.N.Patanaik, op.cit., p.179.
103. *ibid.*
104. G.R.Case No.73 of 1942-43 (Judicial Proceedings, loose files) S.D.O. office record room, Nilgiri.
105. *ibid.*
106. *ibid.*
107. II C.R. Case No.6 of 1942-43
Nilgiri State versus Giridhari Panda.
ibid.
108. *Annual Administration Report,* 1942-43. Nilgiri State.
109. *ibid.*
110. *ibid.*
111. P.K. Das, *Mayurbhanj State Praja Andolan...* in Souvenir, 1982, Orissa History Congress (Baripada,1982) p.4.
112. *ibid.*
113. Resident or Eastern States to Secretary to the crown Representative.
Secret Memorandum No.R.I (24) - C / 42-1973 dtd 15 September 1942.
(Enclosure- Situation Report, No.526/T, 13 September, 1942 form Political Agent, Orissa States).
F.No. 3/90/42,Home (Political) (Internal) Department, N.A.I, New Delhi.
114. *ibid.*
115. *ibid.*

CHAPTER V

Conclusion

The mass upsurge for the liberation of the motherland during the period of the *August Revolution* surpassed all the earlier attempts in dimension and intensity. The anti-imperialist reaction, despite the official prohibition, was wide spread both in the districts and in a number of princely States of Orissa. The target of the attack, as in other parts of India, was especially what seemed to be the symbol of the British power and authority like the Police Stations, Post-Offices, Railway Stations etc. The communication system was also destroyed in many places. However, some big *zamindars* and rich persons having vested interests assisted the Government in quelling the movement.

The Congress officially did not chalk out a broad programme of action, as was usually the practice in the earlier movements. It was essentially a spontaneous mass-upheaval. Therefore, what started as individual acts of angry defiance soon "*turned into a movement and the movement into a revolt*" The degree of spontaneity in 1942, was certainly larger. The AICC resolution in 8 August clearly proclaimed, "*Every Indian who desires freedom and strives for it must be his own guide.*" Jawaharlal Nehru pointed out (in the *Discovery of India*) "*The sudden unorganised demonstrations and outbreaks on the part of the people culminating in violent conflicts and destruction, and continued against overwhelming and powerful armed forces, were a measure of the*

intensity of their feelings. Those feelings had been there even before the arrest of their leaders; but the arrests and frequent firings that followed, roused the people to anger and to the only course that an enraged mob can follow" Apart from that, the process of mass mobilisation had been carried on by the Congress for a long time and the installation of the Congress Ministry went a long way in helping the Congress party to draw more and more people to its fold for the struggle. Congress training camps, *Gandhi Seva Sangh* and such other activities kept the people in a state of readiness.

In Orissa, taking the districts and the princely States as a whole, 87 persons (71 from the districts and 16 from the princely States) attained martyrdom during the course of the movement and even there might be some more unidentified and unregistered cases. Thousands of people were taken into custody. Many were brutally assaulted by the Police. The accusation of the Government about the violence during the *Quit India Movement* cut no ice with the Congress. Even Gandhiji refused to condemn the violence of the people because he saw it as a reaction to the much bigger violence of the State. Jawaharlal Nehru opined in the *Discovery of India "That the very teaching of non-violent methods produced doubt and hesitation and came in the way of violent action. If the Congress, forgetful of its creed, had previously given even a hint of violent action, there is no doubt that the violence that actually took-place would have increased a hundred fold."*

The Government was rudely shaken because of the fury of the mass-rising not only in the urban centres but also in the far-off places in the rural areas. It was a miscalculation on the part of the Government that they never apprehended trouble in the villages, and the authorities found themselves quite unprepared for such a

situation. The entire credit of unfurling the banner of revolt against the Imperialist administration belonged to the youth of Orissa in general, and the student community in particular, who formed the vanguard in most of the operations at different parts of the region. The students of Ravenshaw College, were the pioneers in launching the agitation at Cuttack. In the absence of the front-ranking leaders from the scene, they (the Students) took on the mantle of inspiring the masses at the most critical stage of the struggle for freedom.

The mass participation during this period surpassed all previous records, and there was enthusiastic and spontaneous response of the people to the call of the Congress to rise against the Government. The popular awakening about the political situation in India with reference to the world war II, to which India was dragged, created an anti-British hysteria, which was the outcome of the massive mobilisation programme undertaken by the Congress since 1940. Again War time economic crisis and acute scarcity of essential commodities led the people to resort to desperate things which they might have hesitated under normal circumstances. The acute shortage of food, the abnormal hike in prices, the disastrous operation of black-market by unscrupulous elements, the harassing system of control and other War time galling restrictions etc, all combined to drive the people to despondency. The Second World War had created near famine condition in many parts of India, which made the people convinced that they had been unnecessarily put to trouble in the interest of other nations. Further the popular belief that the Government was solely interested in raising funds for the war without any regard to the ruinous effects of such action on the poor people generated a hostile attitude towards the British. Thus the Congress was very successful in mobilising the masses for the last struggle by

hammering on the general war time economic depression and the apathetic attitude of the Government to their woeful condition.

During the course of the movement so many precious lives were lost. Police had opened fire at different places not because the situations positively warranted such extreme step, but it was for the sake of their own safety from the imaginary danger that had obsessed them. The Police personnel on the spot of firing, appeared to have been overwhelmed with the sense of insecurity to their own selves. Consequently, they failed to maintain their equanimity so essential in dealing with a mob tactfully. It was out of this fear-psychosis which consumed them in the process that the order for firing was usually given. For example, at Eram in Basudevpur Police station, the crowd did not show any sign of violence at that particular moment. Not a single person from the Police party was threatened or attacked excepting that the baggage of the DSP had been forcibly taken away from the *choukidar*. The people had thronged there for a meeting and refused to disperse even after the assembly was declared unlawful. But did the situation warrant firing and the extent to which it was done there resulting in so many casualties? The size of the crowd, the smallness of the Police-force at the disposal of the DSP, the resolute attitude of the people not to disperse after repeated warnings-all these combined to create a feeling of panic in the officer in charge who consequently lost his balance of mind and ordered firing.

The revolt was short lived. It could not continue for a longer period in the face of stringent repressive measures of the Government. Unarmed masses without leaders could not withstand the mighty strength of the Imperialist Government. The Government had enormous resources at its disposal and it utilised them to crush both the violent and non-violent manifestations of

the rebellion. There was lack of coordination and after the arrest of the front-ranking leaders, no agency was left to give direction or coordinate the activities in the province. Another major constraint was the paucity of funds to sustain the movement for a longer period.

A striking aspect of the movement was the erosion of loyalty to the British Government of its own employees. Government officials at the lower rungs of the administration were sympathetic, friendly and helpful to the cause of the motherland. They gave shelter, provided information and at times helped financially to the activists. As a corroborative evidence, reference may be made to incident at Khairadihi on 27 September, 42. Though from a close range the firing was made, strangely nobody was hit. Both the Inspector of Police and the Sergeant Major, who accompanied the Police party, agreed that the constables did not take proper aim. The Collector of Balasore in his report to the Chief Secretary described the incident as "*an extremely serious matter*" The jails though overcrowded during this period, the (Jail) officials were also very friendly and cordial in their dealings with the political prisoners at different places. Even in the princely states, some employees lent support to the *Prajamandal* during this period of agitation. Mention may be made of the then Superintendent of Police of Dhenkanal, D.K.Chatterjee who had secretly assured the *Prajamandal* of all help.

However, the movement made it unmistakably clear of the popular determination to be free from the bondage of the foreign yoke. The days of the Imperialist domination in India were numbered and the liberation did no longer remain as a dream.

* * *

APPENDIX I

List of the Congress Institutions declared unlawful by the Government of Orissa, in the Cuttack, Puri, Balasore and Sambalpur Districts, on the 9th August, 1942.

Cuttack

1. Provincial Congress Committee Office, Swaraj Asram, Cuttack.
2. The District Congress Committee Office, Salepur Cuttack.
3. Bari Asram, P.S.Binjharpur, Dt.Cuttack.
4. Angul Congress Office. Angul town.
5. Chauliaganj Congress Office, Chauliaganj.
6. Budhapanka Congress Office, Angul.
7. Rahama Asram, Tirtol.
8. Paniola Asram, Angul
9. Taramadan Asram, Jajpur.
10. Alaka Asram,Jagatsinghpur.
11. Kendupatna Spinning Centre.

Puri

1. District Congress Committee Office, Puri.
2. Puri Town Congress Committee.
3. Chandanpur Primary Congress Committee.
4. Nimapara Primary Congress Committee.
5. Delang Primary Congress Committee.
6. Mulagarh Primary Congress Committee.

7. Bhubaneswar Primary Congress Committee.
8. Gopabandhu Sevasadan, Sakhigopal.
9. Berboi Gandhi Seva Sangha, P.S. Delang.
10. Jatni Primary Congress Committee. Jatni.
11. Atri Asram, P.S. Bolgarh.

Balasore : 1. District Congress Committee, Balasore.
2. Bhadrak Town Congress Committee.
3. Bhadrk Congress Asram.
4. Garadpur Gandhi Sava Asram, P.S. Bhadrak.
5. Congress Asram, Soro.
6. Agarpara Asram. P.S. Bonth.
7. Dhamnagar Congress Committee.

Sambalpur 1. District Congress Committee, Sambalpur.
2. Congress Committee, Bargarh.
3. Congress Committee, Jharsuguda.

APPENDIX II

Programme for India's Independence (Extracts)

1. Just after the beginning of the campaign, it should be considered that India is independent and that every Indian should think that he is a man of independent India.

   After the beginning of the campaign, every member of the Congress should depend on the above principle and by propaganda incite the people of different areas to destroy the present administration and to establish as soon as possible a self-*Panchait* Government everywhere.

3. While establishing a new self-*Panchait* Government after cutting off all connection with the present Government the situation may appear to be very fearful. India will be divided into innumerable regions. The work of all may not be the same but the foundation must be based on the same principle.
4. Whenever any call comes, it must be borne in mind that it is the call under the direction of the Congress. The Order of the high command of the Congress will be carried out word by word.
5. After the break-out of the fight.
   a. None should obey the British Government.
   b. None will obey the Government, *Rajas, Maharajas* and Government Servants from the rank of Deputy Magistrate to the thana Police agents.
   c. To manufacture salt.
   d. Laws framed by the blind Government should not be obeyed by any one.
   e. To stop payment of land revenue.
   f. To cut the jungle.

g. To cut the telegraph and telephone wires.

h. To compel the Government servants to resign.

i. Not to help the Government servants in any way.

j. There will be strikes in schools and colleges, in shops etc.

6. A *Panchait* Government will be established with 100 to 120 villages and there will be 10 to 29 representatives. The *Panchait* will be selected with due care and caution. The panchait members selected will be ready to sacrifice their lives.

7. A Board of *Panchait* will consist of 30 to 40 members. Either of all the *Panchait* villages or some of them will be established and the members must be in the confidence of the people. These members will only take up the reins of the *Panchait* Government.

8. The effigy of the British Government will be made out and burnt. In every village the people will make an effigy of the British Government with straw and bamboos and hang it and burn it.

9. Every village panchait will enrol as many members as possible and they will act according to the direction of the *Panchait* Government.

10. Every village *Panchait* will enlist a *Death Army* and as many members as possible will be included in it. The members of the *Death Army* will also be the members of the *Peace Army* and they will obey the village *Panchaits*.

11. With the advice of the administrative *Panchait* the *Swaraj* laws will be promulgated in their own limits.

12. The Administrative *Panchait* with the co-operation of village *Panchait* and with the help of the *Death and Peace Army* will maintain law and order and would see that there will be no inconvenience, danger and want among the people. The people are bound to obey and co-operate with the *Panchaits*.

13. It will be the look-out of the *Panchait* to see that the people get their daily and bare necessities of life.
14. After the fight begins and the disorder prevails Government servants, rich and moneyed men and capitalists will never be allowed to be a member of the *Panchaits*; rice, paddy, food grains etc. will not be exported and imported without the order of the panchait.
15. All surplus paddy with the *Zamindars and Mahajans* should not be allowed to be hoarded. The *Panchait* will regulate the use of such paddy etc. The surplus land under the *Zamindars* and rich men under the *Panchaits* and those who can not cultivate their lands, that land and some from the forests and the waste lands will be distributed among the people who have no lands, according to their status.
16. All rivers, *nullas*, embankments, topes, waste-lands etc. will be the common property under the control of the *Panchaits*.
17. According to the income and expenditure and capacity of the people taxes will be levied by the *Panchaits* for *Swaraj* fund and all will enjoy *Swaraj*
18. The Indian army and police should not be considered to be our enemies but to be considered as to have fallen into the hands of the enemy. But if they commit any zooloom on the people, the experience of non-violence learnt in the past 22 years will be applied with courage and determination and they will be won over to our side. In *Panchait*-controlled areas if any of our brothers under orders of the Government commit any outrage on the females, that outrage will be opposed and prevented at any cost. For this in each village and town an atmosphere will be created by which the death of the outrager will be the reply. All will think that enemy soldiers are crossing the border of the village for which all will be ready to give up their lives.

Down with Imperialism

Let British Government Quit India.

APPENDIX III

Martyrs of the August Revolution in Orissa

Cuttack District (Kaipada)

No.	Name	Village	Mode of Death
1.	Sananda Swain	Krishnanagar	Police-firing
2.	Saunti Mallick	Srirampur	-do-
3.	Mayadhar Bhuyan	Hatasahi	-do-
4.	Hadibandhu Panda	Krishnanagar	Bayonet injury

Koraput District

Mathili

1.	Samra Bisi Nayak	Manjarguda	Police firing
2.	Narasingha Bitang	Nuaguda	-do-
3.	Arjun Katia	Khutukuguda	-do-
4.	Lingo Katia	Timaspur	-do-
5.	Suku Gate	Sauniguda	-do-
6.	Laxman Nayak	Tentuliguma	Hanged to death

Papada Handi

1.	Bhagaban Pujari	Mantriguda	Police-firing
2.	Bikram Bhatra	Dalaiguda	-do-
3.	Khagapati Amanatya	Kangra	-do-
4.	Paramanda Subar	-do-	-do-
5.	Ananda Gauda	Dukhuguda	-do-
6.	Bali Saura	Dhandra	-do-
7.	Ratan Randhari	Turunji	-do-
8.	Budu Amanatya	-do-	-do-
9.	Mangulu Bhatra	Umuri	-do-
10.	Jagannath Amanatya	Patrafut	-do-

No.	Name	Village	Mode of Death
11.	Sahadev Pujari	Padaiguda	-do-
12.	Sukra Muduli	Mulabai	-do-
13.	Sada Sibarana	Manchagaon	-do-
14.	Ratan Pujari	Uparipadar	-do-
15.	Rama Chandra Amantya	Phupugaon	-do-
16.	Ghasi Jani	Nuagaon	-do-
17.	Dinabandhu Jani	-do-	-do-
18.	Sudu Bhatra	Nandahandi	-do-
19.	Shyam Sundar Gauda	Saruguda	-do-

PURI DISTRICT

Nimapara

1.	Uchhab Mallick	Dihabari	Police firing

BALASORE DISTRICT

Lunia

1.	Nidhi Mahalick	Rajuali	Police firing
2.	Shyam Mahalick	-do-	-do-
3.	Krushna Mahalick	-do-	-do-
4.	Naba Kumar Nayak	Kasimpur	-do-
5.	Gourahari Jena	Susua	-do-
6.	Chintamani Das	Patharadiha	-do-
7.	Gopinath Jena	Katasahi	-do-
8.	Shankar Behera	Khaparapada	-do-
9.	Agani Sahu	Lunia	-do-

Tudigadia - Khairdihi

1.	Raghu Behera	Badhi	Police firing
2.	Makara Lenka	Badapokhari	-do-
3.	Kelu Sahu	Delang	-do-

Eram

No.	Name	Village	Mode of Death
1.	Gopal Charan Das	Padhuan	Police firing
2.	Dhruba Charan Dey	-do-	-do-
3.	Biswanath Das	-do-	-do-
4.	Bijuli Das	-do-	-do-
5.	Basudev Sahu	-do-	-do-
6.	Ballav Behera	-do-	-do-
7.	Hrushi Behera	-do-	-do-
8.	Hari Behera	-do-	-do-
9.	Magha Mahalick	-do-	-do-
10.	Mani Behera	-do-	-do-
11.	Krushna Swain	-do-	-do-
12.	Kali Majhi	-do-	-do-
13.	Bhua Majhi	-do-	-do-
14.	Madan Palai	-do-	-do-
15.	Radhu Mahalick	-do-	-do-
16.	Krupasindhu Behera	-do-	-do-
17.	Rama Majhi	-do-	-do-
18.	Gobinda Rout	Artung	-do-
19.	Upa Mallick	Nuagaon	-do-
20.	Brundaban Panda	-do-	-do-
21.	Pari Bewa	Eram	-do-
22.	Mani Pradhan	Suan	-do-
23.	Pari Das	-do-	-do-
24.	Ratnakar Pani	Sudarsanpur	-do-
25.	Nidhi Mallick	Adhuan	-do-
26.	Sankar Mallick	-do-	-do-
27.	Bhaban Rout	Nandapur	-do-
28.	Dibakar Panigrahi	Gud	-do-
29.	Jati Sahu	Isuarpur	-do-

PRINCELY STATES

Dhenkanal

No.	Name	Village	Mode of Death
1.	Bira Sahu	Toradanali	Police firing
2.	Benu Sahu	Kusumunda	-do-

Talcher

No.	Name	Village	Mode of Death
1.	Basudev Sahu	Danara	Aerial-attack
2.	Krutartha Pradhan	-do-	-do-
3.	Bhagaban Sahu	Handidhua	-do-
4.	Bhajan Naik	Brahmanbahal	-do-
5.	Maheswar Pradhan	Jarada	Police-firing
6.	Padia Behera	(Athamallick State)	-do-
7.	Rabindra Chandra Pradhan	Langijoda	Torture inside the prison.
8.	Baji Sethi	Seepur	-do-

Nayagarh

No.	Name	Village	Mode of Death
1.	Kasti Dakua	Kusubida	Police-firing
2.	Kanduri Parida	Thuabari	Torture inside the prison
3.	Budhi Parida	-do-	-do-
4.	Jaya Behera	-do-	-do-

Nilgiri

No.	Name	Village	Mode of Death
1.	Raghu Naik	Godisula	Police-firing
2.	Ganga Mallick	Chasunikula	-do-

A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

A. Manuscripts (Official)

1. National Archives of India, New Delhi
   - (a) Proceedings and files of the Government of India, Home Department, Political Branch- Relevant files pertaining to Orissa.
   - (b) Files of the Government of India, Political Department, Political Branch-Relevant files concerning the Orissa States.
   - (c) Linlithgow papers.
2. State Archives, Orissa, Bhubaneswar -
   - (a) Selections from the records on the History of Freedom Movement.
   - (b) Selections from the records of R.D.C, Sambalpur.
3. Sub-divisional Office. Record Room-Nilgiri and Talcher. Relevant judicial files pertaining to the movement in 1942.

B. Manuscripts (unofficial).

1. Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.
   - (a) AICC Papers (Relevant Files)
   - (b) AISPC Papers (Relevant Files)

C. Printed Sources

1. Official publications.
2. *General Review of the administration of the feudatory States of Orissa* (relevant period).
3. *Land Tenure and Land Reforms in Orissa* (Cuttack, 1962).
4. *Orissa District Gazetters.*

2. **Newspapers, Periodicals, and Journals :**

(a) *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta).

(b) *Hindusthan Standard* (Calcutta).

(c) *Jana* (Cuttack) fort-nightly, 1960.

(d) *Orissa Review, Bhubaneswar.*

(e) *The Indian Annual Register* (Calcutta).

(f) *The Jatayu* (Dhenkanal) fort nightly, 1985.

(g) *The Samaj*, (Cuttack).

(h) *The Statesman* (Calcutta).

Secondary Sources

Chandra, Bipan — *India's struggle for Independence,* New Delhi,1988 *Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India.* New Delhi, 1981.

Chopra. P. N. — *Quit India Movement,* New Delhi, 1992.

Choudhury, Rama Devi - *Jeebanapathe* (Oriya), Cuttack, 1984.

Das, M.N. (ed.) — *Sidelights on history and Culture of Orissa,* Cuttack, 1977.

De, S.C., — *Diary of Political events in Orissa,* Cuttack, 1977

Story of freedom struggle in Orissa, Bhubaneswar,1990.

Desai, A.R. — *Social background of India Nationalism,* Bombay, 1966.

Desai, A.K.R.L. — *Indian feudal States and National Liberation Struggle,* Bombay, 1938.

Dhal,B.K. — *Bhulibu Nahin* (Oriya) Cuttack, 1980.

Dwivedy, Surendranath - *Mo Jeeban Sangram* (Oriya) Cuttack, 1984 *August Biplaba* (Oriya) Cuttack, 1989

Gandhi M.K. *Collected works*, Government of India, 1977.

Gopal, S. (ed.) *Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, Orient Longman Ltd.,1976.

Handa, R.L. *History of freedom struggle in Princely States*, New Delhi, 1968.

Jeffrey, R(ed.) *People , Princes and Paramount Power*, Delhi 1978

Lothian A.C. *Kingdoms of yesterday*, London,1951

Mahatab, H.K. *Sadhanar Pathe*, (Oriya), Cuttack-1972

Beginning of the End, Cuttack, 1972

History of Orissa, 2 vols, Cuttack, 1959-60

Mahatab, H.K. (ed.) *History of the Freedom Movement in Orissa*, vol. IV (Cuttack, 1957) and vol. V (Cuttack, 1959)

Mansergh, N.(ed.) *Transfer of power*, London (1971-76)

Mohanty ,M. *Chhatis ru Chhapan* (Oriya), Cuttack, 1959

Mukerjee, Hiren *India's struggle for freedom*, Calcutta, 1962.

Nehru, Jawaharlal *The Discovery of India*, Bombay, 1966

Pande, B.N. (ed.) *A Centenary history of the Indian National Congress*, Vol.III, New Delhi,1985

Pande, Gyanendra(ed.) - *The Indian Nation in 1942,* Calcutta, 1988.

Parida, Biswambhar *Mukti Sangram O Odisa,* 1803-1948 (Oriya) Jagatsinghpur, 1979.

Patnaik, Harmohan *Dhenkanal Andolan* (Oriya) Denkanal, 1983.

Patnaik, S.N. *Odisare Swadhinata Andolan* (Oriya) Cuttack,1972

Patra, K.M. *An Advanced History of Orissa,* New Delhi, 1983.

Phadnis, Urmila *Towards the Integration of Indian States,* 1919-1947, New Delhi, 1968.

Rath , Radhanath *The Story of freedom Movement in Orissa States,* Cuttack, 1964.

Rath, Bijay Chandra *Unrest in princely States of Orissa, Dhenkanal and Talcher (1938-1947),* Cuttack, 1993.

Rath, Gangadhar *Bhuli Nahin* (Oriya), Cuttack, 1994.

Ram, Ramachandra *Sangrami* (Oriya), Cuttack, 1986.

Routray, Nilamani *Smruti O Anubhuti* (Oriya) Cuttack, 1986.

Sarkar, Sumit, *Modern India, 1885 - 1947,* Delhi, 1983.

Seal, Anil *The emergence of Indian Nationalism,* New Delhi,1983.

Talcher *Prajamandal Itihas* Committee (ed.) *Talcher Prajamandala (Congress) ra Itihasa,* (Oriya) Cuttack, 1950.

* * *

Dr. P. [illegible] Rath got his Master's degree in History from Utkal University, Bhubaneswar and joined the Orissa Education Service in 1976. He was awarded Ph.D. in 1990 by the University of Calcutta. At present he teaches History in J.K.B.K. College, Cuttack.

Other Books of the Author :

1. Unrest in Princely States of Orissa - Dhenkanal and Talcher *(1938-1947)*.

2. Land System in the Native States of Orissa. *(Under print)*

ISBN-81-7412-032-7

Price.
Rs.150/-